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ART. X.—*Pāli Elements in Chinese Buddhism: a Translation of Buddhaghosa's Samānta-pāsādikā, a Commentary on the Vinaya, found in the Chinese Tripitaka.* By J. TAKAKUSU, B.A..

WHETHER we possess among the numerous Buddhist books preserved in China any text translated from a Pāli original, is a question which has not as yet been quite settled. Several scholars have answered it positively or negatively, but no one until now has brought forward an undeniable fact in support of his opinion. The object of my present is to decide this point, and to introduce to the Society of Pāli origin in Chinese.

These canonical Buddhist books are collectively called by the Japanese, as well as by the Chinese, the Sansang, (三藏), though we must never understand by this meant by the term "Pitakattayaṃ" in Sanskrit, as Professor Rhys Davids has shown in his works outside of the—
—for instance

These amount to some 1320 texts, some of which are a second or third translation of one and the same original. Besides these there are the so-called "Indian Miscellaneous Works," numbering 147. That these 1467 texts might include some of the Pāli works now existing in Ceylon, Burma, and Siam, was an opinion advanced by some scholars. We are, however, left ignorant of the names of the dialects from which the translations were made, for no Chinese author mentions them distinctly. The Indian language in general, whether Prākṛit, Pāli, or Sanskrit, is indiscriminately called the "language of Fan,"¹ i.e. Brahmans, which is generally understood to be identical with Sanskrit. But there is no reason whatever why it should not mean also any other Indian dialect,² for India is called the "Kingdom of Fan," perhaps meant for "Brahma-rāṣṭra."

As to the existence of the Pāli elements in China, Prof. Max Müller says in his "Introduction to the Science of Religion"³: "In China, although the prevailing form of Buddhism is that of the Sanskrit canon, commonly called the northern canon, some of the books belonging to the Pāli, or southern canon, have been translated, and are held in reverence by certain schools."

Dr. Eitel, in his "Handbook of Chinese Buddhism" (1870), seems to think, as his preface and the article "Samskrita" show, that the Chinese texts are from as well as from Sanskrit. He says:⁴ "The most Chinese texts seem to be translations from Pāli, the modern texts from Sanskrit. Hiuen Tshang found 635 A.D., in the Punjab little difference between Sanskrit and Pāli."

I do not know, however, on what authority formed, and I doubt

¹ Sanskrit.

which, for instance, Hiuen Tshang or I-tsing had before them were Sanskrit, for their transliterations are so clear and accurate that we can easily trace the words to the original sounds. But in the case of the earlier translators it is by no means easy to form an opinion as to the dialect of the original.¹

Mr. C. F. Koeppen, in his "Religion des Buddha," says² that the Chinese possess, besides Sanskrit texts, a number of Pāli works, which they obtained probably from Ceylon through some of their travellers. His statement, however, rests only on the authority of Gützlaff, who misunderstood almost every Sanskrit transliteration as Pāli, as may be seen in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, 1848, Vol. IX, pp. 199-213. Gützlaff's "List of Principal Works from the Pāli in Chinese Characters" contains some 156 works, not one of which presents the appearance of Pāli origin; among them are even such well-known Sanskrit works as the Vajracchedikā, Amitābha-sūtra, and the like. Afterwards, in 1880, when Chinese Buddhism had been studied with a greater accuracy, Dr. Edkins positively asserted that there are no Pāli books in China.³ Moreover, in speaking about Koeppen's statement, he says: "Koeppen, saying that the Chinese have also a number of Pāli texts, has been misled by Gützlaff, who, coming to China after having lived in Siam, saw the Sanskrit inscriptions in the island of P'uto and took them to be Pāli. From him the opinion spread; but it is an error. The Buddhists of Burma, Siam, and Ceylon⁴ have never spread their religion in China or Japan,

introduced their sacred books into those countries." His

I think, the last attempt at solution, which aims at

¹ Take, for instance, the "Sha-mên": although it is nearer to Pāli "Samaṇa" than to Skt. "Śramaṇa," yet we have no right to judge from it that the original was Pāli, for we meet with "Sha-mên" also in those texts whose original is Sanskrit. But when we come across the word "Sha-lo-mo-na" (舍羅摩拏), we see at once that it can only be from Sanskrit Śramaṇa.

² 1857, vol. i, p. 186 note.

³ See "Chinese Buddhism," ch. xxv, p. 401.

⁴ Compare, however, note 1, p. 419.

the greatest precision among the opinions yet produced. The result of his research was that the early translations were from Prākṛit, and not from Pāli, as Dr. Eitel supposed.

Now as to the third council of the Buddhists under the great Asoka, which is generally believed to be unknown to Chinese Buddhists, Mr. O. Palladji, in his interesting "*Historische Skizzen des alten Buddhismus*,"¹ drawn up from Chinese sources, mentions at length Asoka's council as well as the two former ones. One may well wonder why Mr. S. Beal, more than twenty years later, informed Prof. Oldenberg that Asoka's council is not found mentioned in the Chinese Piṭaka.² It may be due to Beal's oversight, or he may have had some ground for asserting this.³ He expressed more than once, if I remember well, the opinion that there is a trace of Pāli in the Chinese collection; but on examining the original on which his supposition rests, I found nothing to indicate its Pāli origin.

In the thorough examination of the Tripiṭaka by my friend Bunyiu Nanjio, he found no Pāli text, and traced most of the books to Sanskrit, and compared them with Tibetan texts, the names of which, at any rate, he, when possible, restored into Sanskrit.

It is thus well-nigh settled that the Chinese books, on the whole, are translations from the Sanskrit original, and that there is no Pāli work in China, and no mention of the Council of Pāṭaliputta in the Chinese Buddhist books.⁴

¹ Erman's "*Russisches Archiv für Wissenschaftliche Kunde*" (1856), Band xv, pp. 206 and foll.

² See Oldenberg, "*Vinaya-piṭakam*" (1879-82), vol. i, p. xxvii.

³ We see with M. Barth the importance of a complete examination of the contents of the Chinese Piṭaka ("*Religions of India*," Engl. p. 108 note) can give two or three quite different accounts from Chinese sources, which are a mixture of various elements. Compare, for instance, Wassilief's "*Buddhismus*," in which many pieces of information from the Chinese are identical with the Tibetan, with Palladji's "*Historische Skizzen*," which are not very much different from the Sīnhalēse chronicle.

⁴ I should be sorry if I have omitted any later authorities who touched these questions, and would welcome any communications about them.

I for my part doubted from the beginning the idea that there was not a single text in Pāli brought to China by any one of those 173 translators we know of, some of whom came from Southern India, from Ceylon, or from Siam,¹ others of whom are said to have collected books in Ceylon as well as in India,² to say nothing of those Chinese travellers who went to Ceylon to search for the law.³ He who brought a MS. may not have translated it himself, but may have left it behind to his successors to translate. Had there been a MS. there is no reason whatever why they should not translate it, seeing that several Hīnayāna works were interpreted and preserved in the Chinese collection. Resting on this supposition, I have been for some time looking for a text of Pāli origin. My attention was naturally directed to the texts bearing on the Indian Chronology, while perusing many a work without any result. At last I came across a text which contains an account of the third Buddhist Council at Pāṭaliputta under the great Asoka. Besides, this book has the following stanzas, which have been hitherto found only in Pāli and not in Sanskrit books:—

Pāli.

Anekajātisaṃsāraṃ sandhāvissaṃ anibbisaṃ
 Gahakārakaṃ gavesanto dukkhā jāti punappunaṃ
 Gahakāraka diṭṭho 'si puna gehaṃ na kāhasi
 Sabbā te phāsukā bhaggū gahakūṭaṃ viṣaṃkhitaṃ
 Viṣaṃkhūragataṃ cittaṃ tanhānaṃ khayam ajjhagā 'ti.

¹ One from Ceylon, three from Siam, four from S. India, and one Japanese. Nanjio's Catal., App. ii, Nos. 92; 101, 102, 107; 111, 131, 150, 153; 138.

² *I.e.*, Nos. 137, 155.

³ *e.g.* Fā-hien and nine of those sixty travellers recorded by I-tsing went to Ceylon. See Chavannes, "Mémoire sur les Religieux Éminents," par I-tsing (Paris, 1894), §§ 20-2, 24, 28, 29, 32, 49, 52.

Chinese.

愛	心	碎	一	不	今	更	正	走	流
盡	已	折	切	復	已	生	覓	去	轉
至	離	不	脊	更	見	生	屋	無	非
涅	煩	復	肋	作	汝	辛	住	厭	一
槃	惱	生	骨	屋	屋	苦	處	患	生

A translation from the Chinese :

(I have been) running through the transmigration of many a birth without hate or grief just to seek for the place of the abode (of Corporeity); rebirths (indeed) produce a bitter pain. But now I have seen thy house. Thou shalt not build thy house again. All thy ridge and ribs are shattered, (so as) not to be born anew. The heart has been separated from thirst (passion), and, as all desires have been exhausted, it has reached its Nirvāṇa.¹

These stanzas are the words which the Buddha is supposed to have uttered at the moment he attained to Buddhahood. The Lalita Vistara does not seem to know these verses—in any case, not as the first words of the founder of Buddhism; for it gives (ch. xxii) quite a different verse as the Buddha's first words: "The vices are dried up; they will not flow again" (śuṣkū āśravā na punaḥ śravanti).²

The text which contained those verses appeared to me, at first sight, as if it were a portion of the Dīpavaṃsa or Mahāvaṃsa, inasmuch as it gives the three councils,

¹ The Pāli is to be found in the Sumaṅgala-vilāsini (p. 16), in the Samantapāsādikā (but not in Oldenberg's text), Buddhavaṃsa, Dhammapada (Max Müller, §§ 153, 154). Turnour's translation in the J.R.A.S. Bengal, vi, p. 523; Hardy, "Manual," p. 180; D'Alwis, "Nirvāṇa," p. 78; Oldenberg, "Buddha," etc., p. 211 (English, p. 195); Rhys Davids, "Buddhist Birth Stories," pp. 103, 104.

² Mr. Mitra's edition, p. 448; Max Müller, "Dhammapada," 39 note (S.B.E., p. 13).

Asoka's devotion to the faith, Mahinda's mission to Ceylon, etc.; besides the periods of the reigns of Indian kings, Chandragupta and others, agreeing on the whole with the Ceylonese Chronicle. But on further perusal I found that the book was a translation of Buddhaghosa's Introduction to the Samanta-pāsādikā, a commentary on the Vinaya-piṭakam,¹ which gives the historical tradition from the Buddha's death to Mahinda's death in Ceylon.

I was glad to find this text in the Chinese Piṭaka, for I thought it might give us the following results, if I were not overestimating the value of its discovery:—

1. It can be no longer disputed that the Chinese Collection contains also Pāli elements.
2. The Council of Asoka, under the presidency of Moggaliputta Tissa, is found mentioned in the Chinese Collection, but as yet only in the books of Pāli origin.
3. Some of the information obtained from Chinese sources, and hitherto considered to be derived from Sanskrit books, may be from Pāli ones.
4. Translations and transliterations of names and words contained in this book may furnish us a key to a further discovery of Pāli texts.
5. In any case it will give us a large Pāli-Chinese vocabulary, as we have the text as well as the translation.
6. It may help us in the collation of Pāli MSS. of the text translated, preserving as it does a tradition of very early date, *i.e.* before A.D. 489.
7. The migration of a work of Buddhaghosa to China in 489 A.D. may serve to confirm the dates of his arrival in Ceylon in about 430, and of his sail to Burma in about 450.

¹ Childers, s.v. *Atthakathā*; Rhys Davids, "Buddhism," p. 237. A portion of this valuable record was published by Prof. Oldenberg in his "Vinaya-piṭakam," vol. iii (the end).

With the hope of realizing these points, I borrowed the Chinese text of the India Office, and began an examination into its contents last year. As I have other studies on hand, I am not able at present to lay the whole of my examination before the Society. I shall, however, notice in the following pages some of the points which, I think, may give an idea of the nature of the book.

The book in question is called in Chinese, "Shan-chien-p'i-p'o-sha-lü," or "I-ch'i-shan-chien-lü-p'i-p'o-sha" (一切善見律毘婆沙). If I were to translate it quite literally, this would mean "All-good-appearing-vinaya-vibhāṣā."¹ This, it will be at once noticed, is the exact meaning of the Pāli title. The first two characters "i-ch'i" are generally left out, and Nanjio² restored "Shan-chien-p'i-p'o-sha-lü" to Sanskrit "Sudarśana-vibhāṣā-vinaya." No Sanskrit book with this title is known to have existed. It is neither found in the catalogues of Sanskrit books, nor is it mentioned by any Sanskrit author, or by any Chinese author writing about Sanskrit Buddhist books. The invention of this new title, therefore, to explain Chinese words which so exactly reproduce the Pāli title, seems to me unnecessary. This book is found also in Julien's "Concordance Sinico-sanskrite d'un nombre considérable de Titres d'Ouvrages Bouddhiques" (J.A. 1849, pp. 353-445), Nos. 55, 55^a.

The translator, Sêng-ch'ieh-po-t'o-lo (=Saṃgha-bhadra), was a Sāmaṇa from a foreign country under the Ts'i

¹ This seems to be a translation of "Samanta-pāsādikā" ('pleasing all'). Samanta-prāsādikā (adj.) occurs in the Mahāvastu, § 3; -tū ('having complete amiability') in the Dharmasaṅgraha, § lxxxiv, p. 57, one of the eighty signs of the Buddha (41); the Chinese being "I-ch'i man-tsu" (I-ch'i=samanta). The Lalita Vistara, vii, p. 122, has this word, the translation of which is "Chien-chē-chich-shēng-hsi," 'all those who look at him obtain joy.' Asoka is called "Shan-chien" ('good-appearing' meant for Priyadarśin). The translator, not finding a suitable word for "pāsādikā," may have used "Shan-chien." "Vibhāṣā," in a Buddhistic sense means 'commentary.' It ought to be Vinaya-vibhāṣā, not Vibhāṣā-vinaya. Cf. the Chinese Bk. xii, fol. 16a.

² In his Catalogue of the Chinese Tripitaka, No. 1125 (see p. 248).

dynasty, of the Siao family (A.D. 479-502) (蕭齊外國沙門僧伽跋陀羅譯).

The date of the translation is A.D. 489 (=the seventh year of the Yung-ming period of the Emperor Wu-ti) (武帝永明七年).

The book is recorded as belonging to the Hinayāna. It is divided into 18 books, and consists of 440 leaves, each leaf containing about 400 Chinese characters.

It begins with the adoration "Namo sabbesaṃ Buddhānam" (南無諸佛), and an opening verse. The first three books are devoted to the historical introduction; a rough analysis of the whole will be as follows:—

Bk. i to Bk. iv, fol. 2. The history from the Buddha's Death to Mahinda's Death. The first section is devoted to the Council of Rājagaha, which took place during the rainy season immediately after the Buddha's death at Kusinārā. 500 Arhats meet under Mahākassapa: Upāli recites the contents of the Vinaya, while Ānanda rehearses the Suttas in answer to the questions of the presiding therā. It lasted seven months.

Next comes the Vajjiputtiya section. In it the "Ten Points" brought forward by the Vajjian Bhikkhus are given, and the Council of Vesālī, which met A.B. 100, is shortly described. The presiding theras of the second council were ten in number, Sa-p'o-chia-mei (Sabbakāmi), Li-p'o-to (Revata), and others, the members in all numbering 700. It ended in eight months.

The third is called the Asokarāja section, which covers some three books and fifty-two folios. It gives the rise of Asoka, his conversion to Buddhism by Ni-ch'ü-t'o (Nigrodha), the building of Saṃghārāmas and medical halls, his invitation of Moggaliputta Tissa, whose life is also given at length, the examination of all Bhikkhus by Asoka, and then the Council of Pāṭaliputta, which lasted nine months, Tissa presiding over 1000 members. Then follow the ordinations of Mahinda and Saṃghamittā, the sending out of the Missionaries, the conversion of Devā-nampiya Tissa, the planting of a branch of the Bo-tree in

Ceylon, the arrival of Saṃghamittā, and lastly, the deaths of Mahinda, Arittha, and others.

The whole agrees pretty well with that portion of the Pāli text edited by Prof. Oldenberg at the end of his *Vinaya-piṭakam*, vol. iii.

Bk. iv, fol. 3 to Bk. vi. Commentary on the introductory portion of the *Vinaya*, i.e. the first part of the *Suttavibhaṅga*.

The *Mahāmoggallāna Khandhaka* (Oldenberg, V.P. iii, 1, p. 7), the *Sāriputta Khandhaka*, and the *Monkey Khandhaka* (i.e. p. 23), etc., are explained.

Bks. vii-xii. An explanation of the *Pārājikā* rules.

Bks. xiii-xviii. The *Samghādisesā* rules and other sections are explained.

The last part (*Bk. xviii*) gives some remarks in a very short form about the *Kathina Khandhaka*, *Bhikkhupī Khandhaka*, etc., and also thirty-two questions to Upāli (*Upāli-pucchā*) by Mahākassapa, and the answers as well. It ends with the words: "There are four wrong proceedings in the *Ñatti-kamma*¹ of the special priests [i.e. in the *Gaṇa-kamma*], four in the *Ñatti-dutiya-kamma*,¹ and four also in the *Ñatti-catuttha-kamma*¹; therefore there are three times four, i.e. twelve wrong proceedings" (別衆白羯磨中有四非法, 白二羯磨中有四非法, 白四羯磨中有四非法; 三四合十二非法).

The following extracts may perhaps serve to convince my readers of the fact that my identification is not imaginary. For shortness' sake I will omit the Chinese characters.

I. The Chinese text, *Bk. i, fol. 9.* Compare *Sumaṅgalavilāsini*, pp. 16, 17, § 47.

What are the *San-Ts'ang*² (*Ti-piṭaka*)? They are the *P'i-ni Ts'ang* (*Vinaya-piṭaka*), the *Hsiu-to-lo*³ *Ts'ang*

¹ See Childers, s.v. *Kammavācā*.

² Those in italic are translations and not transliterations. "Ts'ang," 'store' stands for "Piṭaka."

³ *Samghabhadra* here used an earlier transliteration from Skt. *sūtra*, hence "Hsiu-to-lo."

(Sutta-piṭaka), and the A-p'i-t'ang *Ts'ang* (Abhidhamma-piṭaka). Of what does the Vinaya-piṭaka consist? It consists of—

- a. Two Po-lo-t'i-mu-ch'a¹ (Pāṭimokkha). (Sum. vil. 2 Pāṭimokkhas, 2 Vibhaṅgas.)
- b. 23² Chien-t'o (Khandhaka). (Sum. vil. 22 Khandhakas.)
- c. The Po-li-p'o-lo (Parivārā). (Sum. vil. 16 Parivārās.)

What is the Sutta-piṭaka? It consists of—

- a. The long A-han (Dīgha-āgama),³ in which there are 44 suttas, beginning with the *Fan-wang king* (Brahma-net sutta=Brahmajāla). (Sum. vil. 34 suttas.)
- b. The middle A-han (Majjhima-āgama), 252 suttas, beginning with the *Mou-lo-po-li-yeh* (Mūlapariyāya). (Sum. vil. 152.)
- c. The Sêng-shu-to A-han (Samyutta-āgama), 7762 suttas, beginning with the *Wu-ch'ieh-to-lo-a-p'o-t'o-na* (Oghatara-apadāna).
- d. The Yang-chüeh-to-lo A-han (Anguttara-āgama), 9557 suttas, beginning with the *Chê-to-po-li-yeh-t'o-na* (Cittapariyādāna-sutta).
- e. The Ch'ü-t'o-chia A-han (Khuddaka-āgama), 14 divisions of which are—
 1. The *Fa-chü*, i.e. verses on the law (Dhammapada).
 2. The *Fü*, i.e. parables (Apadāna).
 3. The *Wu-t'o-na* (Udāna).
 4. The *I-ti-fu-to-ch'ieh* (Itivuttaka).
 5. The *Ni-po-to* (Nipāta).
 6. The *P'i-mo-na* (Vimāna-vatthu).
 7. The *Pi-to* (Peta-vatthu).

¹ From Skt. "Prātimoksha": see the last note.

² It may be meant here that the Khandhakas with the Parivārā are 23. The Mahāvagga had 10 Khandhakas and Cullavagga 12: see the Vinaya texts, iii, S.B.E. vol. xx, pp. 416-417.

³ Āgama is another name of the "Nikāya": see Childers, s.v.

8. The T'i-lo (Thera-gāthā).
9. The T'i-li-ch'ieh-t'o (Therī-gāthā).
10. The *Pên-shêng*, i.e. Original Births (Jātaka).
11. The Ni-t'i-sha (Niddesa).
12. The Po-chih-san-p'i-t'o (Paṭisambhidā).
13. The *Fo-shung-hsing*, i.e. Buddha's Genealogy or Clan (Buddhavamsa).
14. The Jê-yung¹ *Ts'ang* (Cariyā-piṭaka).

(Sum. vil. 15 divisions with the Khuddaka-pāṭha. Childers seems to have had a MS. which, like Saṃghabhadra's, omits the 15th book: see his Pāli Dictionary, p. 508a, line 10.)

What is the A-p'i-t'ang *Ts'ang* (Abhidhamma-piṭaka)? It consists of—

1. The *Fa Sêng-ch'ieh* (Dhamma-saṃgaha, sic sum. vil.).
2. The P'i-pêng-ch'ieh (Vibhaṅga).
3. The T'o-tou-chia-t'u (Dhātu-kathā).
4. The Ya-mo-chia (Yamaka).
5. The Pa-ch'a (Paṭṭhāna).
6. The Pi-ch'ieh-lo-fên-na-ti (Puggala-paññati).
7. The Chia-t'a-po-t'ou (Kathā-vatthu).²

II. a. The Chinese text, Bk. i, fol. 21: the Pāli (Oldenberg, Vinaya, vol. iii), p. 299.

"During four years after the death of King Pin-t'ou-sha-lo (Bindusāra), A-yuk (Asoka) killed all his brothers, leaving only a brother of the same mother. After four years he crowned himself and became king. It was 218 years since the Buddha's death that King Asoka took sole command of the land of Jambudīpa (Yen-fu-li)."

The Pāli: "Te sabbe Asoko attanā saddhiṃ ekamātikaṃ Tissakumāraṃ ṭhapetvā ghātesī. Ghātento cattāri vassāni

¹ "Jak-yo" according to the Japanese pronunciation. It stands for "Cariyā."

² For all these names see Turnour, Mahāvamsa, p. lxxv; Rhys Davids, "Buddhism," pp. 18-21, where an account of these books is given in a clear form; and Childers, s.v. Tipiṭakam.

anabhisitto 'va rajjam kāretvā cattunnam vassānam accayena tathāgatessa parinibbānato dvinnam vassasatānam upari atthārasame vasse sakala - Jambudīpe ekarajjābhisekam pāpuṇi."

b. Ch. Bk. i, fol. 23; Pāli, p. 300.

"During three years following his enthronement he was a follower of the heretical doctrine; it was during his fourth year that he inclined his heart to the Buddha's law [through Ni-ch'ü-t'o (Nigrodha)]."

The Pāli: "Rājā kira abhisekam pāpunivā tīpi yeva samvaccharāni bāhirakapāsāṇaṃ parigaṇhi, catutthe samvacchare buddhasāsane pasīdi."

c. Ch. Bk. ii, fol. 1; Pāli, p. 306.

Mo-shên-t'o (Mahinda) received his Upasampadā when he reached his full 20 years of age, his Upajjhāyā being Tī-shu, son of Mu-chien-lien (Moggaliputta Tissa), his Ācariyā Mo-ho-t'i-p'o (Mahādeva) and Mo-shan-t'i (Majjhantika). Sêng-ch'ieh-mi-to (Saṃghamittā) received his Pabbajjā ordination in his 18th year under Upajjhāyā T'ang-mo-po-lo (Dhamma-pāli) and Ācariyā A-yu-po-lo (Āyupāli). These incidents happened in the sixth year after Asoka ascended to the throne (i.e. 10 years after Bindusāra's death).¹

d. Ch. Bk. ii, fol. 9; Pāli, p. 312.

Prior to the great Council at Po-ch'a-li-fu (Pāṭaliputta) Asoka summons several Bhikkhus and questions one after another:—

Asoka: "What, sir, was the law of the Buddha" (大德, 佛法云何; Kimvādī bhante sammāsambuddho 'ti)?

Bhikkhu: "The Buddha was one who held the doctrine of Distinction" (佛分別說也; Vibhajjavādī Mahārājā 'ti).

Asoka, turning to Thera Tissa: "Was the Buddha one who held the doctrine of Distinction" (大德, 佛分別說不; Vibhajjavādī bhante sammāsambuddho 'ti)?

Tissa: "Just so" (如是; Āma, Mahārājā 'ti).

¹ Compare Dipav., vi, 24; Oldenberg, Vinaya, i, p. 1.

Asoka, seeing that Religion had been purified, said to the Bhikkhus: "Let us, sirs, hold the Uposatha to expound the morality [sīla]." (Suddham bhante dāni sāsanaṃ, Karotu bhikkhusaṃgho uposathaṃ ti). Thereupon Moggaliputta Tissa becomes the president of the Assembly, which consists of 1000 chosen Bhikkus. He then refutes the opinions of all those adhering to heretical doctrines and wrong views. Here there is a difference between the Chinese and the Pāli. The words, "Tasmim samāgame Mogalliputta-Tissatthero parappavādaṃ maddamāno Kathāvatthuppakaraṇaṃ abhāsi"¹—"In this assembly, Moggaliputta Tissa, refuting the opinions of the other parties, propounded the work Kathāvatthu"—are not well traceable in the Chinese. At any rate, the name Kathāvatthu is not mentioned there, though it is given in the list of the books in the Kuddakanikāya, as we have seen above.²

III. Ch. Bk. ii, fols. 12-17 ; Pāli, pp. 316-319.

The Buddhist missionaries sent out after the Council of Pāṭaliputta are as follows :—

1. Mo-shan-t'ī (Majjhantika) to Chi-pin and Ch'ien-t'ō (Kasmīragandhāra).
2. Mo-ho-t'ī-p'ō (Mahādeva) to Mo - hsi - sha - man - t'ō-lo (Mahisa- or Mahimsaka-maṇḍala).
3. Lo-ch'ī-to (Rakkhita) to P'ō-na-p'ō-ssū (Vanavāsi).
4. Tan-wu-tê (for Dhammagutta, but the Pāli has Dhammarakkhita) } to A-po-lan-to (Aparantaka).

¹ Compare Mahāv., p. 42 ; Dīpav., vii, 40. The Kathāvatthu is very likely Tissa's own compilation. See, however, Childers, s.v. Tipiṭakam (p. 507^b), and Max Müller, Dhammapada, xxvi, xxvii.

² See above, p. 426.

5. Mo-ho-tan-wu-tê (for Mahā-dhammagutta, but the Pāli has Mahādhamma-rakkhita) } to Mo-ho-lo-ch'a (Mahārāṭṭha)
6. Mo-ho-lo-ch'i-to (Mahā-rakkhita) . } to Yü-na (Yona).¹
7. Mo-shih-mo (Majjhima), Chia-shê (Kassapagotta), T'i-p'o (Deva), and Tun-t'i-pi-shu (Dundubbhissara) } to the Border of the Snow Mountain (Himavanta).
8. Shu-na-chia and Yü-to-lo (Sonaka and Uttara) } to the Kingdom of the Gold Earth (Suvanṇa-bhūmi).
9. Mo-shên-t'o (Mahinda), I-ti-yü (Iddhiya or Itṭhiya), Yü-ti-yü (Uttiya), Po-t'o-sha (Bhaddasāla), San-p'o-lou (Sambala), Hsiu-mo-na (Sumana), and P'an-t'ou-chia (Bhaṇḍuka) } to the Island of Lion (Simhala, Ceylon).²

IV. The chronological table given in the Chinese Bk. ii, fol. 18^b, does not exactly agree with that of the Samantapāsādikā (p. 320), or of the Mahāvamsa. The period, 236 years, between the Buddha's death (=the 8th year of Ajātasattu's reign) and Mahinda's mission to Ceylon (=the 18th year of Asoka's reign), is filled up by the following list of kings:—

¹ "Yonaka," the land of the Greeks, *i.e.* Bactria. The Chinese is 與那 Yü-na, but a Korean text and the new Japanese edition have 史那, Shih-na, and explain it as 漢地也 *i.e.* China. A scholar said that China received Asoka's mission. His assertion probably rests on this misinterpretation of the Korean text.

² For all these geographical names see Rhys Davids, "Buddhism," p. 227 note; Dipav., viii, 4-12; Mahāv., xii (Turnour), pp. 73, 74.

KINGS.	REIGN.
A-shê-shi (Ajātasattu)	24 years. ¹
Yü-t'ò-yeh-po-t'ò-lo (Udayabhadra or Udāyibhaddaka)	16 years. ²
A-t'u-lou-t'ò (Anuruddha) } each ³	8 years.
Min-ch'u (Muṇḍa) }	
Na-chia-tai-sha-chia (Nāga-dāsaka or -dassaka)	14 years. ⁴
Hsiu-hsiu-na-chia (Susunāga)	18 years.
A-yü (or A-yuk, i.e. Chia-lo-yü; Kālāsoka) .	28 years.
10 sons of the last . . . together	22 years.
Mei-nan-t'ò (for Chiu-nan-t'ò) ⁵	22 years.
Chan-t'ò-chüeh-to (Candagutta)	24 years. ⁶
Pin-t'ou-sha-lo (Bindusāra)	28 years.
[The interregnum between the death of the last and the enthronement of Asoka]	4 years.
A-yü (or A-yuk; Asoka)	18 years.
(when Malinda was sent out).	
	234 years.

We have thus an anachronism of only two years in the list (compare Turnour, *Mahāv.*, p. xlvii, "6 years"). But this gap would be filled up if we read "18 years" for the reign of Anuruddha and Muṇḍa instead of "each 8 years."

¹ He reigned 32 years; the Buddha died in his eighth year.

² Ajātasattu and Udāyibhaddaka are omitted in Bk. ii, fol. 18^b, perhaps by the copyist's mistake, but we can see from fol. 18^a that Udāyibhaddaka reigned more than 15 years, and I put here 16 years from the Pāli. [The copyist seems to have jumped from A of Ajātasattu to A of Anuruddha while copying.]

³ Not "collectively" as in Turnour's *Mahāvamsa*, p. xlvii. Samantapās. (p. 320) has 18 years (Anuruddho ca muṇḍo ca Atthārasa).

⁴ Samantapās., 24 years.

⁵ Mei (玫) seems to be a misprint. There is no corresponding sound in the Pāli. It is, I think, a mistake for Chiu (玖), which is sometimes used for another "Chiu" (九) meaning "nine," and the "nine nanto" for the Pāli "nava nandā." In one of my slips from the new Jap. edition of the Chinese Piṭaka I note, "玫 mei for 玖 chiu?"; but I do not remember whether it is my conjecture or that of the Japanese Editors. Anyhow, it is pretty certain that it must be "Chiu" nine.

⁶ Not 34 as in the *Mahāvamsa*, which is an error.

I do not know whether the difference in figures between the Pāli and the Chinese texts is to be attributed to various readings in the original, or simply to a mistake on the part of the Chinese translator or copyists.

V. From the commentary itself, I shall notice only a point or two. In explaining "Ariyakam" in the Pārājikā, Buddhaghosa says :

- a. "Ariyakam nāma Ariyavohāro Magadhabhāsā. Milakkhakam nāma yo koci Anariyako Andhadamīlādi," etc. The Chinese: 善語者, 何謂爲善語; 所以善人所行, 是摩竭國語。若邊地, 安陀羅彌國語, etc. "Now, as to the 'good language.' What is called the 'good language'? What is in use among the 'good' men. This is the language of the kingdom of Mo-chieh (Magadha). In case of the border lands, (there are) the language of the kingdom of An-t'o-lo-mi (Andhadamīla)," etc. (Ch. Bk. vii, fol. 13^b.)

Next, under the Saṃghādisesā, Buddhaghosa says as to 'Ādi' and 'Sesa' :

- b. "Imaṃ āpattiṃ āpajjitvā vuṭṭhātukāmassa yantaṃ āpattivuṭṭhānaṃ. Tassa ādimhi c'eva parivāsādanatthāya ādito sese majjhe mānattadānatthāya . . . avasāne abbhānatthāya ca saṃgho icchitabbo" (Sam.-pās., fol. ne). The Chinese: 此比丘已得罪, 樂欲清淨。往到僧所。僧與波利婆沙, 是名初。與波利婆沙竟, 次與 . . . 摩那埤, 爲中。殘者與阿浮訶那。 "The Bhikkhu, having become guilty, wishes to be purified, and goes to the place of the Saṃgha. The Saṃgha confers on him the Po-li-p'o-sha (parivāsa) —this is called the first. After having conferred the Parivāsa (the Saṃgha) next confers the Mo-na-to (Mānatta), which is the middle. Last of all, the A-fu-ho-na (Abbhāna) is conferred on him." (Ch. Bk. xii, fol. 18^b.)

Although the Chinese translation is not always literal, yet it is not so free that we cannot recognize the original in the Pāli text. Several points seem to have been omitted, when probably the translator's knowledge of Chinese failed to interpret them, while many words seem to have been added to make the sense of the original clearer. For instance, as to some medical herbs, Saṃghabhadra adds whether they are found or not in Tong-king and Canton, and in some cases gives Cantonese names besides the Indian (see e.g. Bk. xv, fol. 19^b).

It is probable that the translator dictated the meaning of Buddhaghosa's commentary from a MS., while the Chinese assistants wrote it down, and fashioned it into a Chinese composition. There are some passages so free and incorrect, that we can hardly attribute the version to anyone understanding the Pāli language.

VI. I shall notice one more point about the verses quoted by Buddhaghosa from the "Ancient Historical Records" in the Sinhalese Aṭṭhakathā. The verses in the Samantapāsādikā seem to consist of the three elements: (1) The verses composed by himself or by an unknown author. (2) Those taken from the ancient Aṭṭhakathā, which are indicated by the words: "Tenāhu porāṇā" ("Therefore have the ancients said"). (3) Those from the Dīpavaṃsa, which are often preceded by the words: "vuttaṃ pi etaṃ Dīpavaṃse" ("It is said in the Dīpavaṃsa as follows"). The first is called in Chinese simply "Chi" (偈) which had been meant originally for Skt. gāthā, hymn, verse, but later became a general name for any religious verse, whether a śloka or any other metre. The second is called "Wang-hsi-chi" (往昔偈), "Verses from Past Ages" or "Ancient Verses." The third, which is taken from the Dīpavaṃsa, is called "Wang-hsi-chi-tsan" (往昔偈讚), "Praise-Songs from Past Ages" or "Ancient Praise-Songs." Saṃghabhadra must have understood that the Dīpavaṃsa was nothing but a version of the ancient Sinhalese Records, made specially

for chanting or recitation.¹ The name "Dīpavaṃsa" is not traceable in Chinese, but it is possible that the original had "Dīpavaṃse," and Saṃghabhadra translated it by the "Ancient praise-songs," in order to show what relation it had to the ancient historical record which he called simply the "ancient verses."²

In the introductory part of the Chinese text of the Samanta-pāsādikā there are more than seventeen verses from the Dīpavaṃsa (also found in the later work Mahāvaṃsa), though some of them widely differ from those found in the existing texts of the two books.

The above will, I think, suffice for our present purpose, and will, I hope, leave no doubt as to the existence, at any rate, of the book in question. There is only one other possibility, and it is this. The Chinese translation may be from the original of 'Buddhaghosa, i.e. the *Sinhalese* Aṭṭhakathā, seeing that the date of the translation is as early as 489 A.D. But it would take us too far to discuss this point now.

We have then before us a translation of the Samanta-pāsādikā (and under the same title) into the language of China, where the name or fame of Buddhaghosa had never reached.³ A MS. of his work, however, must have reached

¹ Compare Mahāv., p. 257: "And that he might promulgate the contents of the Dīpavaṃsa, distributing a thousand pieces, he caused it to be read aloud thoroughly." The fact that the Dīpav. is called here the "Ancient praise-songs" may in a way help Prof. Oldenberg's opinion that the work "Porāṇehi kato" mentioned in the Mahāv., i, p. i, may refer to the Dīpav. (Oldenberg, Dīpav., p. 9).

² There are similar cases: whenever the Pāli text has "Tambapanni" or "Lanka," he translates it by the "Island of Lion" = Sihala, the object being to make it clear to the Chinese readers.

³ But it is possible that some Buddhist book may refer to him under another name. No Chinese travellers known to us mention his name. In Fa-hien's time (A.D. 399-414) Buddhaghosa must have been very young and still in India. As the Hīnayāna faith was looked upon as heretical by Hsien T'sang (A.D. 629-645), Buddhaghosa's fame seems to have escaped his notice. I-tsing (A.D. 671-695), though a follower of the Hīnayāna, says nothing of that great Buddhist writer.

there soon after its compilation, probably brought by the translator himself, who may have been a direct disciple, or, at all events, a young contemporary, of Buddhaghosa.

Buddhaghosa, a young Brahman of Magadha, who was born "Bodhimāṇḍasamīpaṇhi," is said to have been converted by Revata, a Buddhist priest. The latter further instigated the young convert to go to Ceylon, pointing out that the Sinhalese Aṭṭhakathā were genuine, being composed by Mahinda, and a translation of them into the language of Magadha would be a work conducive to the welfare of the whole world.¹ Buddhaghosa then came to Ceylon in the reign of Mahānāma (A.D. 410-432)²—strictly speaking, at the end of his reign, about 430 A.D.³—and succeeded in carrying out his literary undertaking, during his stay there in the Mahāvihāra of Anurādhapura. The Samantapāsādikā must have been compiled at this time. He is said to have sailed to Burma about 450 A.D., taking with him all the works of his compilation.⁴

We cannot trace him further than this, but his fame, and perhaps his works also, seem to have reached Siam, Kamboja, and even Campā (Cochin China, now French). According to Dr. Bastian, Campā was once a Buddhist country,⁵ its Buddhism having been derived from Ceylon, and being generally connected with the name of Buddhaghosa. Had his Aṭṭhakathā made their way to Campā it would not have been very difficult for them to have reached Canton, the place of this translation, in South China. But this does not seem to have been the case. We have no reliable record as to the fact that Kamboja or Campā were Buddhist countries in the fifth century.

¹ Turnour, Mahāv., p. 251.

² *l.c.*, p. 252. Compare Kern, "Buddhismus," p. 477; Max Müller, "Dhammapadam" (S.B.E.), p. xii; Lassen, Ind. Alt. iv, p. 285.

³ Rhys Davids, "Buddhism," p. 236; "Buddhist Birth Stories," p. lxiv.

⁴ Rhys Davids, "Buddhism," p. 236; Lassen and Burnouf, "Essai sur le Pāli," also quoted by Turnour, Mahāv., p. xxx. Compare also Bishop Bigandet, "Life of Gaudama" (1866), p. 392.

⁵ This is confirmed by I-tsing (A.D. 671-695), who says that Campā mostly belonged to the Sāmūitiya school, while there were a few adherents of the Sarvāstivāda school.

Siam is said to have received Buddhism first in 638 A.D.,¹ though there are some traces of the existence of Buddhism at an earlier time.² In any case it is reasonable to suppose that the conversion to Buddhism of the whole area from the western coast of Burma to the north limit of Cochin China, and with it the migration of the Sacred Books, would have taken a longer time than thirty-eight years (489-450=38).³

The only other possibility as to how this MS. got to China at so early a date is by way of the sea. Either a Sinhalese or a Burmese who might have known Buddhaghosa, personally or by name, may have secured a copy of the *Aṭṭhakathā* and sailed to China, possibly stirred up by the missionary spirit which might have prevailed during or after the time of the great commentator. Suppose that man were a direct disciple or an admirer of Buddhaghosa; he would have simply followed the brilliant example of his teacher, who made for the eastern peninsula with his Buddhist works, as we have seen above. The voyage over the Indian Ocean would have been no difficulty before 489 A.D., for, as we know, Fa-hien returned home in 414 by a merchant ship which sailed between Ceylon and China by way of Java.

The man who brought the book is no other than the translator himself, *i.e.* Samghabhadra. Unfortunately we have no means of ascertaining his nationality. He is said to have been a *samaṇa* of the *Western Region*,⁴ a name often used for "India," of course including Ceylon. The use of the name Hsi-yü (Western Region) is very vague, and there is no reason why Burma should be excluded from it. So we have no guide at all in it. Still, it is more probable that he was a Sinhalese. The voyage from Burma to China must have been more difficult than that from

¹ Rhys Davids "Buddhism," p. 238, quoted from Crawford, "Journal of the Embassy to Siam," p. 615.

² Three priests from Siam came to China between A.D. 503-589. See above note 1, p. 419. I-tsing says there was no Buddhism in his time, but there was before a wicked king of that country persecuted the Buddhist priests.

³ But Buddhism may have been established in Asoka's time in Burma (two missionaries went to Suvanna-bhūmi).

⁴ See Nanjio, Catalogue, App. ii, 96.

Ceylon to China in his time. For the latter we have the witness of Fa-hien; but for a communication by the sea between Burma and China we have no record in so early a time, and the discovery of the Malacca Strait seems to be very late. But we have no positive proof that he came from Ceylon,¹ and at present we must rest satisfied with the result that he must have come from some country where the orthodox Buddhism prevailed. He seems to have been a Hīnayānist, for his translation, which is closely connected with the tradition about him given below, is recorded as a Hīnayāna work. He came to Canton and never proceeded to the North, and he brought with him the same tradition as the Sinhalese or Burmese about the date of the Buddha's death. These points can be seen from the following interesting tradition about his life in China:—

"In 534 A.D. (中大通六年) an ascetic, Chau P'o-hsiu (隱士趙伯休), visited the temple on the mount Lu (廬山), met a samāṇa called Kung-tu (弘度) there and obtained from him a historical record named

'A Dotted Record of many Sages' (衆聖點記).

A tradition about the Record—

After the Buddha's death, the venerable Upāli collected the Vinaya-piṭaka. On the 15th day (Pūrṇamāsitara) of the 7th moon (Assayujā) he held the Pavāraṇā ceremony, as it was the closing day of the Vassa (the Rain-Retreat). Upāli then marked the Vinaya-piṭaka² with a dot, and did the same every

¹ The following fact may perhaps help us. When the Pāli has various readings, as noted in Oldenberg's *Samantapāsā*, the Chinese has the same readings as the Burmese MS. (E.). Whether this tendency is found throughout the commentary, I am not at present able to state. If this be proved to be the case, we can see at least that the Burmese MS. keeps the readings of 489 A.D., not long after Buddhaghosa.

² It seems from this as if the Vinaya existed in book. But we need not understand it literally. Compare Turnour, *Mahāv.*, p. 207: the Vinaya was not in writing till the time of King Vaṭṭa Gāmanī, i.e. 88-76 B.C. But some seem to believe that it was written down in book in the first council.—Bigandet, "Life of Gaudama," p. 350. Has the custom of marking the sacred years ever existed in Ceylon or in Burma?

following summer. After Upālī's death this method was carefully kept up, handing it down from teacher to pupil, until at last it came to the hand of Saṃghabhadra, the translator of the *Vinaya Vibhāṣā*, who brought that *Vinaya-piṭaka* to Canton. He held the *Vassa* in Canton (廣州) A.D. 489 (齊永明七年), and when he finished the *Pavāraṇā* ceremony he added a dot to the *Vinaya-piṭaka*. At that time the number of dots was in all 975 (the Buddha's death therefore falls, according to this Record, in the year 486 B.C.).¹ The ascetic Chau asked the *saṃaṇa* Kung-tu why the Record was not kept up after 489 A.D., the time of Saṃghabhadra. Kung-tu answered: 'In former ages there were many *Ariya-puggalas* who themselves marked the Record with dots. 'We are only common men, whose duty it is to keep and guard this Record, not to mark it.' The ascetic Chau continued the marking till A.D. 535 (大同之初), when there were 1020 dots.'"²

Saṃghabhadra's date of the Buddha, B.C. 486, was not quite unknown to the Buddhist writers in China, but was never considered as authoritative. Perhaps it did not seem "ancient" enough to the Chinese Buddhists, who would have claimed a greater antiquity for the founder of their religion than that of Confucius. Prof. Max Müller told me that he noticed some years ago the "Dotted Record" in the *Academy*, as he was informed of it by his pupil Kasawara. I failed to find the Number of the *Academy*, but I do not think that there is any difference between Kasawara's information and mine, except in wording, for the source from which we derived it is in all probability one and the same. Now that we have identified Saṃghabhadra's translation with the *Samanta-pāsādikā*, the above tradition about him turns out to be more important than curious, and I did not think it superfluous to give it here.

¹ The Sinhalese date of the Buddha's death, 543 B.C., wants a curtailment of at least about 60 years, as pointed out by Turnour, which would bring us to 483 B.C., not to speak of a further curtailment made by Max Müller, Rhys Davids, and others. The anachronism seems to have been introduced after Saṃghabhadra's time.

² 486 B.C. + 535 A.D. = 1021; perhaps the year 535 was not marked.

In conclusion, I may add, that I am still comparing the Chinese with the Pāli and translating it, when I can spare time. I have already collected some 800 names and words, whose Sanskrit equivalents are not to be found in Eitel's Sanskrit-Chinese Dictionary, or in Julien's "*Méthode pour déchiffrer et transcrire les noms Sanskrits qui se rencontrent dans les Livres Chinois*," but whose Pāli equivalents are found in Childers' Pāli Dictionary, or in the *Mahāvamsa*. I strongly hope that this book will serve as a key to lead us to a further discovery of Pāli works, which might have found their way into the Chinese Tripitaka. Mr. Palladji may have known our work, for his "*Historische Skizzen des Buddhismus*" give an account which, on the whole, agrees with that of our book, though there are many points whose sources are not ascertainable.¹ There must be some more Pāli works in China if we only look for them. This line of research is, I think, very important for the study of the Chinese Piṭaka, which is nothing but a mixture of all sorts of books coming from various sources. It may contain books compiled in the council of Asoka as well as those in the so-called council of Kanishka. There must be in it some elements from Sanskrit, Pāli, Tibetan, or Prākṛit, as Dr. Edkins thinks, and further, it is possible that there is a trace of Mongolian or some dialects of Further India. It may seem to be impossible at first to recognize the elements from all those languages under the dress of Chinese, but when we have the texts in both languages before us, our work is comparatively simple and easy.² When, for instance,

¹ Above note 3, p. 418. First I thought that Palladji might have drawn his materials from Pāli sources. There was in his time Turnour's "*Epitome of the Pāli Annals*" (1837). But the names which Palladji gives, e.g. Ribata for Revata (p. 212), Kāmadeva for Devānampiya (p. 220, Ch. T'ien-ai, "*Heaven-love*"; he translated this into Skt. Kāmadeva), made me think that his account was from Chinese sources.

² A comparative study of the Sanskrit and Chinese texts is also very important. Without this even the interpretation of a Chinese text becomes impossible or unsuccessful. We often run the risk of thoroughly misunderstanding the Chinese translators. Compare, for instance, Beal's *Fo-sho-hing-tsun-king* (S.B.E., vol. xix), §§ 564-568 (=Ch. Bk. ii, fol. 11*), and my rendering in Heinrich Lüders's paper, "*Zu Asvaghōṣa's Buddha-carita*," p. 2, note 2, and Tokiwai's in Leumann's note, p. 8 (Göttingen, *Phil.-histor. Klasse* i, 1896).

the whole of the Pāli Piṭaka is published, we can easily compare the contents of both.¹ Then we shall see, at least, whether they agree or not. To do such work we must begin with the Vinaya works, Tibetan, Chinese, and Pāli, which in substance agree with one another.² Prof. Oldenberg encourages the students of Chinese Buddhism to make a careful examination of the important literary documents of the Vinaya.³ I wish with him that Chinese scholars who are interested in the study of Buddhism, will pay attention to those texts preserved in the Lü-ts'ang, which is as yet almost an unbeaten track of Chinese literature.

¹ The whole Vinaya edited by Oldenberg; many texts from the other Piṭakas in the Pāli Text Society's publication. We have also the whole Piṭaka of a Siamese edition.

² See Oldenberg, Vinaya, p. xl; the Vinaya of different schools is based upon the same fundamental redaction. (Compare Wassilief, "Buddhismus," p. 38; the Vinaya was the same in all schools.)

³ *I.e.*, p. xliii.

ART. XI.—*Vidhūra Jātaka*. (No. 548 of Ceylon List.)
 [From the Burmese.] By R. F. ST. ANDREW ST.
 JOHN, M.R.A.S.

ONE day, when the disciples were discussing the various forms of wisdom peculiar to the Buddha, the Lord came into the hall and inquired what they were discussing. On being informed, he said: "Rahans, there will be no difficulty in understanding how I can now so easily overcome the opinions of Brahmans, princes, and others, bringing them to a right frame of mind, when you hear how, in a former existence as the high-born Vidhūra, on the summit of Mount Kālāgiri, I overcame and subdued the virulence of the Rakshasa Puṇṇaka." He then related as follows:—

Long ago, in Kururajjam, in the city of Indapattanagaram, there reigned a king whose name was Dhanañcaya Korabya, whose prime minister, Vidhūra, expounded the law so well and sweetly that everyone was attracted to him, and all the rulers of Jambudvīpa came to get his decisions. Now in the city of Bārānasi there were four rich Brahmans who were friends, and they, having determined to renounce the lusts of this world, went into Himavanta. Having dwelt there some time as hermits, they came into the inhabited country in search of salt and pickles, and at last arrived at Campānagaram, in the country of Aṅga, and dwelt in the king's garden. The rich people of the city, seeing that their deportment was correct, undertook their maintenance, and begged them to remain. One of these hermits, in a state of ecstatic meditation, used to go daily to the country of the Nāgas, another to Tāvatisa, another to the country of the Gaḷunas, and the fourth to the park called Migājina, which belonged to King Dhanañcaya Korabya, at Indapattanagaram. On

returning, each praised the delights of these places to his particular supporters, so that each desired, when the time of change came, to go to these places.

When they at length died, by reason of the good works they had performed, one became Sakko, another became king of the Nāgas, another became king of the Gaḷunas in a forest of silk-cotton trees, and the fourth took birth with the chief queen of King Dhanañcaya Korabya. At his father's death Prince Korabya succeeded to the throne.

King Korabya was passionately fond of dice, but abiding by the instructions of his minister Vidhūra, observed his fasts and religious duties. One fast-day, in order to be quiet, he went into his garden. Sakko, the Nāga king, and the Gaḷuna king, also came to that garden to spend the fast-day in quiet meditation; and, in the cool of the evening, all four met at the auspicious water-tank and recognized each other. Sakko sat on the auspicious stone slab, and the others seated themselves in suitable places.

Sakko then asked: "Which of us four kings, do you think, has performed the most excellent duty?"

Varuṇa, the Nāga king, answered: "I think mine is the best. The Gaḷunas generally take our lives, and yet, when I saw their king, I displayed no anger."

The King of the Gaḷunas said: "This Nāga king is the food in which we most delight, and yet, though oppressed by hunger, I did him no harm."

Sakko said: "I have left the wonderful pleasures and delights of Tāvātimsa and come down to this earth to keep my fast."

Then said King Korabya: "I have left the delights of my palace and sixty thousand concubines and come to fast in this garden."

Thus the four kings extolled their own piety.

Then said the three kings: "O King Korabya, have you no wise man in your dominions who can dispel our doubts in this matter?" King Dhanañcaya Korabya answered: "I have a wise minister named Vidhūra, and he will probably be able to do so."

So they all agreed to go to the Judgment Hall, and, having caused Vidhūra to take his seat on a splendid couch, stated their case to him.

Vidhūra (after questioning them) replied: "O kings, your words are all good, and there is no fault in them. Wise men say that, like an axle well fitted to the hub of a wheel, those persons who are long suffering, who do no ill to obtain food, who avoid lust, and have no anxiety, are they who in this world have extinguished evil" (Samaṇam).

On hearing this, the four kings gave great praise to Vidhūra, and said: "Indeed, thou art a religious person. There is no one equal to thee. Thou canst decide clearly, as the worker in ivory cuts through an elephant's tusk with a saw."

Sakko presented him with a valuable cloth. The King of the Gaḷunas gave him a golden flower garland. The King of the Nāgas presented him with a priceless ruby; and King Korabya gave him one thousand milch cows, ten bulls, ten elephants, ten horses, ten chariots with Sindh horses, and the revenue of sixteen villages.

Now the King of the Nāgas had a queen, whose name was Vimalā, and, when he returned, she noticed that the ruby he usually wore round his neck was gone, so she said: "My Lord, where have you left your ruby?" He answered: "Lady, I wished to do honour to Vidhūra, the son of Canda, the Brahman, who decided a case for me, and gave it to him. Sakko gave him a cloth. The Gaḷuna king gave him a gold garland, and King Korabya also gave gifts."

Queen Vimalā asked whether he was one who preached the law; and on being told that there was no one equal to him, she thought thus: "If I were to say—'My Lord, I want to hear him preach the law: bring him here,' the King would not bring him. I will say that I want this wise man's heart, and, by worrying the King, get what I want." So she went into her inner chamber, and, giving notice to her attendants, went to sleep. On that day the Nāga king, at the time when the Queen and concubines usually came to pay their respects to him, missing Vimalā, asked where she

was. They told him she could not come, because she was ill. Hearing this, he got up from his seat, and, going to her couch and stroking her with his hand, said: "Lady, you are like a withered leaf, and your body emaciated. What ails you?"

Queen Vimalā answered: "O Lord of the Nāgas, in the land of men if women do not get what they want they suffer great pain. I have a strong desire to obtain the heart of this wise Vidhūra, lawfully and not by force. When I have obtained his heart I shall be well. If I do not, I shall shortly die."

The King answered: "Lady, if you wanted the sun, or the moon, there would be no difficulty. Even the kings of the island of Jambudvīpa find a difficulty in getting to see him. How, then, can he be brought here?"

Hearing this, the Queen turned her back on the King, saying: "If I cannot get the heart of Vidhūra, may I die on this very bed."

When the King found she would not answer him he went into his chamber and threw himself on his couch, saying: "Who can bring Vidhūra's heart? Verily the Queen will die if she cannot get it."

Just then the Princess Irandhatī¹ came, magnificently dressed, to pay her respects to her father, and, seeing him so unhappy, said: "My father, you seem very unhappy: why is it?"

Her father replied: "My daughter, your mother wants the heart of the wise Vidhūra; but who can bring him to Nāga-land? Dear daughter, you are the only person who can do it. If you wish to save your mother's life, search for a husband who can bring him." The King was so wrapped up in his desire to preserve his Queen's life, that he spoke thus shamefully to her, telling her to get a husband.

Irandhatī, having pacified her father, went in to see her mother, and, after comforting her, dressed herself in all her

¹ Irandhatī: is this a form of Arundhatī, one of the stars, and said to be the wife of the seven Rishis? *

ornaments and, that very night, took her way through the water to the upper world, and went to a place in the Himavanta near a river where there is a mountain called Kāḷa. That mountain is sixty yūjanās in height, and entirely composed of black rocks. Having gone thither, she collected a number of beautiful flowers, and strewed them all over the mountain, and made it look as if it were a heap of rubies; she spread a bed of flowers on the summit, and began to dance and sing, saying ¹—

Nāgas, Devas, and Gandhabbas,
Kinnaras, and all who dwell
In this Himavanta forest,
Stay, and list to what I tell :
Lives Vidhūra, wise and gracious,
In the courts of Kuru's Lord ;
Who Vidhūra's heart will bring me
Shall receive me as reward.

Just then Puṇṇaka, the nephew of the Deva Vessavaṇ (Kuvera), riding on his horse Manomaya, was on his way to the assembly of the Rakshasas, and heard her song. As she had once been his wife in a former existence, as soon as he heard her he was smitten with delight, and, stopping his horse, said : "Lady, by the power of my wisdom, I will bring you Vidhūra's heart. Be not afraid. You shall be my wife."

On hearing this, Irandhatī replied : "Go at once and demand me of my father."

Overcome with love, Puṇṇaka dismounted and stretched out his hand to put Irandhatī on his horse, but she drew back, saying :

Irandhatī.

Back, Puṇṇaka, nor take me by the hand ;
I am no orphan to be brought to shame :

¹ The gāṭa of Irandhatī's song have been left out, except the first line, and only the Bur. translation given.

Varuṇa, lord of serpents, is my sire,
 And Vimalā, my mother, his chief queen.
 If, then, to wed me be thy firm desire,
 Demand me from them in accustomed form.

Hearing this, Puṇṇaka at once proceeded to the Serpent King's palace, and addressed him thus:—

Puṇṇaka.

Lord of the Nāgas, list unto my suit,
 And give Irandhatī to me for wife.
 Ages have passed since first our lots were linked :
 I love her still, and she to me inclines.
 Take as her price one hundred elephants,
 One hundred steeds, and e'en one hundred carts
 Piled with the seven gems, to which are yoked
 One hundred mules : an offering far too small.
 But who could name a price for one so fair ?

Varuṇa.

O Raksha Prince, Vessavan's nephew true,
 Fitted in every way to be my son-in-law
 Art thou ; but not in haste may this be done :
 A hurried marriage ofttimes causes woe.
 First with my queen and kith I must consult.
 Irandhatī is but a child, and 'tis
 The nature of all womenfolk to pine
 When parted from their home. Perchance she, too,
 May grieve when taken hence. Wait here awhile.

(He enters the palace and addresses Queen Vimalā.)

Queen of my queens, my well-loved Vimalā,
 There waits without, in haste to wed our child
 Irandhatī, the darling of our heart,
 Vessavan's nephew, chief of all his hosts.
 His gifts and words are fair. What thinkest thou ?

Vimalā.

Lord of this widespread realm, we need no gifts :
 Irandhatī, whose beauty glads all hearts
 Cannot be bought with gems : 'tis he alone
 Who brings Vidhūra's heart shall wed the maid.

Varuṇa (coming out).

Leader of hosts, if our consent you'd win,
 Bring us the "wise man's" heart, thy lawful spoil.

Puṇṇaka.

Some are called wise and others are called fools ;
 But on this point all men are not agreed.
 How shall I know the wise man from the fool ?

Varuṇa.

What ! hast not heard of Rāja Korabya,
 Who reigns at Indapattan ? and of him
 Who guides with perfect wisdom his affairs,
 All-wise Vidhūra ? 'Tis his heart we want.

Puṇṇaka ordered his attendant to get ready his horse Manomaya, and, urged by his great love for Irandhatī, having smoothed out his beard and hair and arranged his clothes, mounted and set off on his way to the dwelling of his uncle Kuvera (Vessavaṇ).

On arriving there he recited some stanzas descriptive of the beauty and wealth of Kuvera's city. He recited these verses because he did not dare to carry off Vidhūra without his uncle's permission. Kuvera, however, was deciding a dispute between two devas, and did not attend to him, so Puṇṇaka sat down near the deva who had won his case. Kuvera, turning to the deva, gave him an order to go and take possession, so Puṇṇaka took the order as if it were given to himself, and went off with him. On the way he thought thus : "Vidhūra's attendants are very

numerous; I shall not be able to take him unawares. King Korabya is passionately fond of dice. I will win him from Korabya by a cast of the dice. King Korabya is very wealthy, and will not play with me for anything of small value. In the hill of Vepulla, near Rājagriha, there is a ruby fit to be worn by Cakkavatti monarchs; it is a ruby of great power. I will overcome him by means of that ruby." He accordingly went to Rājagriha, in the country of Aṅga.

(The translator here remarks: "Why is it said that Rājagriha is in Aṅga, when it is in Magadha?"—It is because at that time the King of Aṅga ruled over Magadha.)

Ascending to the top of Mount Vepulla, he came to the place where that wonderful ruby which is called Manohara (Captivating) is guarded by 100,000 Kumbhaṇḍas. Terrifying them by his terrible glances, he took the ruby and pursued his way to Indapattanagaram. On arriving there, he got off his horse and left it in concealment near the city. Taking the form of a young man, he approached King Korabya and addressed him thus:—

Puṇṇaka.

"In this assembly of chiefs, who will play with me for an excellent stake? From which of you shall I be able to win something of value? Who of you wants to win my incomparable treasure?"

Korabya.

"Youth, what is your country? Your speech is not that of Kururāj, and your appearance is more comely than that of the people of my country. Tell me your race and name."

Puṇṇaka.

"King, I bear the noble title of Kaccāyaṇo. As for my parents and race, they dwell in the city of Kāla-campanagaram in Aṅga; and I have come to this country to cast dice."

Korabya.

"Since you have come here to gamble, what have you brought with you? If you have nothing, will not the princes who overcome you make you their slave? How, then, do you propose to play against princes?"

Puṇṇaka.

"My lord king, my stake is a ruby.¹ It is of immense value—more valuable than any other. It brings whatever you desire, and is called Manohara. That is not my only property: I possess a steed that can drive away all my enemies. I will play for both of them. Let the winner take them."

Korabya.

"Youth, what can you do with your one ruby and horse? We kings have many such rubies, and swift steeds innumerable."

(Here ends the canto called "Dohaḷa."²)

* * * * *

Puṇṇaka.

"My lord king, why do you speak thus? My horse is worth a thousand, and my ruby is worth a thousand. Though your Majesty may have horses, they are not like mine. Just look at the qualities of my horse." Saying thus, he mounted Manomaya and rode round the city wall so fast that the city appeared to be surrounded by

¹ The ruby was not a red one, but a Veluriyam.

² Dohaḷa, "longing for"; more especially applied to that of women in a certain condition.

a band of horses, which could not be distinguished, and even Puṇṇaka himself was not distinguishable, but the red girdle on his waist was like the whirling of a firebrand. Having thus displayed the good qualities of his horse, he dismounted and said: "O King, have you beheld the power of my horse?" And, on the King replying that he had seen it, he said, "Look again," and rode his horse across the surface of the lake which was in the royal park, backwards and forwards, so that not even its hoofs were wetted. Having caused it to stand on a lily-leaf, he spread out his hand and it stood upon the palm. When the King remarked, "This is, indeed, very wonderful," he replied: "Now behold the power of my ruby. You have only to look into it to see¹ everything that is in this city or on the face of the earth, and all the delights of Devaland."

(Here ends the canto called "The Ruby.")

* * * * *

Puṇṇaka.

"Surely, O King, if I gamble with you and lose, take my ruby. But what will you stake?"

Korabya.

"Kaccāyaṇo, I will stake anything but myself, my queen, or my throne."

* *Puṇṇaka.*

"If that be so, O King, since I am from a distant country and cannot tarry long, make ready the gaming-place."

So the King summoned all his nobles, and ordered a place to be prepared. The nobles, having spread curiously-worked carpets and arranged places for the King and his hundred nobles, suitably to their rank, reported to the King that all was ready.

Then Puṇṇaka requested the King to come to the

¹ The description of what may be seen in the ruby is too long to translate.

gaming-place, and said: "My lord king, you have stated that you will play with me for anything save your royal person, your queen, or your throne, and your words are as ivory [*i.e.* firm]; but I am a poor person and you are the lord of many. If you win, you will assuredly take my ruby; but if I lose, you may delay in paying me, and fall back upon the fact that you are a king: how, then, can I play on equal terms?" But the King replied: "Kaccāyaṇo, be not afraid; whether I win or lose I will act according to the law."

So Puṇṇaka called all the kings who were present to bear witness, saying: "Kings of Paṇḍava, Paccuggata, Sūrasena, Madda, and Kebhi, who are here assembled, you have heard the words of Korabya your lord. Take good note of them. You are all law-abiding kings, and I call upon you to be my witnesses, without fear or favour; listen and watch between us, and according to the custom of the righteous, with heed, observe closely, and do that which is right."

Thereupon King Korabya, surrounded by a hundred princes, proceeded to the gaming-shed, and they sat in their appointed places; and King Korabya placed the golden dice upon a silver table.

Then Puṇṇaka said suddenly: "My lord king, the marks upon the dice are called 'thé,' 'than,' 'einzé,' and 'nguzon'¹: take which you please." The King elected to take "einzé," and Puṇṇaka took "than."

The King then called upon Puṇṇaka to throw first; but Puṇṇaka said: "My lord king, I am a poor man: it is not right that I should begin; it is for you to throw first." So the King agreed.

Now there was a fairy, who had been his mother in his third state of existence, who constantly looked after King Korabya, and through her power he had always won when he played with dice. He used also to sing the following verses whenever he played: (*Sabbā nadi viṅka nadi, etc.*), which mean—

¹ These words are not given in the Bur. Dictionary, but according to the text *thé* = 8, *than* = 6, *einzé* = 4, and *nguzon* = 2.

Rivers, all are crooked rivers ;
 Firewood grows in every tree ;
 Woman ever doeth evil
 Get she opportunity.¹

In order to invoke his fairy guardian he sang as follows :—

O fairy, now my guardian be ;
 Fame and renown bring quick to me :
 Upon thy kindness I rely.
 Pure is the gold that forms each die ;
 Brightly they shine within the bowl :
 Stand near me and my luck control.
 Sweet fairy, ever kind to me,
 Come now and bring me victory.

Then King Korabya, singing his gambling song, threw the dice into the air, but through Puṇṇaka's power they fell so that he would have lost ; knowing, however, by his great skill that this would happen, he caught them before they fell on the silver table and again threw them into the air, but seeing that they would a second time fall against him, he again caught them in his hand.

Seeing this, Puṇṇaka looked round to see the reason, and observed the good fairy standing near the King. He thereupon glared fiercely at the fairy, and she fled terrified to the top of a mountain on the confines of the world. The King then threw them again thrice, but by Puṇṇaka's power was prevented from putting out his hand to catch them before they fell. Then Puṇṇaka threw, and seeing that he had won, rose from his seat and cried, "I have won, I have won." And the sound of his voice was heard throughout all Jambudvīpa.

King Korabya was very sad at having lost, so Puṇṇaka, in order to comfort him, said : "My lord king, when two persons have a wager each puts forth all his strength

¹ See Jātaka No. 62.

to win, but both cannot do so—one must lose; and so it is in this dicing: your Majesty, however, has not lost your own person. Be not cast down, but give me that precious thing that I have won, and let me depart, for I have come from afar and may not delay.”

Korabya.

“Youth Kaccāyaṇo, I have everything that is on the face of this earth: take what you want and go.”

Puṇṇaka.

“My lord king, in your realm there are elephants, horses, precious stones, and lovely virgins, but the greatest treasure of all is Vidhūra, ‘the wise minister.’ In accordance with your promise give him to me.”

Korabya.

“Kaccāyaṇo, before we began to play I said I would stake anything but myself, my queen, or my throne, and this Vidhūra is as my very self, and you ought not to take him. It is on him that I rely. He is even greater than I, for I worship him. He is the source of my good fortune and like an island of refuge.”

Puṇṇaka.

“My lord king, as I have far to go and cannot stay to argue the question, let us call Vidhūra and abide by his decision.”

Korabya.

“Kaccāyaṇo, you are honest in all your actions: I am pleased with your suggestion. We will go to Vidhūra and abide by his decision.” So the King, accompanied by all his nobles, took Puṇṇaka with him and went to the Hall of Justice.

When Vidhūra saw the King coming he descended from the judgment-seat and sat in a suitable place.

Puṇṇaka then addressed him thus: "O wise minister, you are well established in the law, and would not speak falsely even to save your life. These things are known unto all men. I, too, would know this, O wise one—Art thou the servant of the King, or one of his kin?"

Vidhūra.

"Youth, I am not of the King's kith, neither am I greater, but I am one of his servants. Of these there are four classes,¹ viz.: the house-born, the purchased, the self-made, and the captive. As I am one that pays respect to the King, I am a 'self-made' slave, and though I may be taken to another country, I shall still be the servant of the King. And if the King for any reason give me to you, or another, his gift will be lawful."

Puṇṇaka.

"O princes, my victory is twofold. As for this king of kings, his wish was contrary to law. Why should he not give me this wise Vidhūra, who has given a true decision?"

Korabya (in anger).

"O Vidhūra, though I have honoured and raised you to high estate, you have no regard for me, but regard only the face of the youth Kaccāyaṇo, whom you have only just seen. Youth, take this true slave and go thy way."

(End of the canto called "The Dice-throwing.")

* * * * *

The King, thinking he might still detain Vidhūra by getting him to solve difficult questions, asked him as follows:

1. Vidhūra, how may householders dwell in safety?

¹ Antojāta, dhanakkita, sayamdāsūpagata, karamarāṇita.

2. What is the law of mutual assistance ?
3. Under what circumstances may they be without poverty and anxiety ?
4. What is the rule for fidelity ?
5. After passing from this life to another how may they be free from dread ?

Vidhūra replied —

1. "O King, people should not commit adultery with their neighbours' wives, nor should they eat without giving food to those who deserve it. They should not rely on absurd casuistry, for it tends not to true wisdom.
2. "Daily they ought to observe diligently the five duties. They should observe their duties to one another as rulers and householders. They should not forget to heap up merit. In all matters they should act with deliberation. Instead of being arrogant they should be humble. They should obey the instructions of the righteous. They should be neither short-tempered nor malicious. They should be bold and unflinching in almsgiving. They should speak loving words and be tender in thought, word, and deed.
3. "They should be liberal to their friends and loving, doing to them as they would be done by. They should be mindful of seed-time and harvest, and when mendicants come round ever ready to fill their bowls.
4. "They should desire to follow the precepts of the righteous. They should be mindful of their good birth and lineage. They should read and converse on good books, discussing and asking questions.
5. "O King, they who do these things are free from danger and anxiety in this life, neither shall they have dread when they pass to another existence."

(Here ends the canto called "The Householder.")

* * * * *

Now when Vidhūra returned from conducting the King back to his palace, Puṇṇaka said: "Vidhūra, you have been given to me by the King and must go with me as my servant. Look closely to my advantage, for wise men have said that whosoever acts only for the good of his lord becomes well acquainted with it."

Vidhūra.

"Young man, I know that you have got possession of me, and that it was because the King gave me to you. It was for your good also that I answered his questions. In return for this kindness remain two or three days in my house, and allow me to instruct my wives and children."

Puṇṇaka.

"Vidhūra, I will remain with you a few days, and during that time set your affairs in order and instruct your wives and children."

So Puṇṇaka went with Vidhūra to his house.

Now Vidhūra's house was built in three mansions, one suitable for each season. They were named¹ Kuñjara, Mayura, and Piyaka. They were as well appointed as that of Sakko. So Vidhūra installed Puṇṇaka in one of those mansions, with everything that he could want and 500 damsels to attend upon him, and retired to the one in which his family was living, and entering into the chamber of his wife Anulā, told her to call all his children; but she, by reason of her great grief, was unable to do so, and sent her daughter-in-law, saying: "My tender and loving daughter-in-law, beautiful as the flower of the blue lotus (Indavaramuppalaṃ), go and summon my son Dhammapāla and your other brothers-in-law."

Vidhūra received them with streaming eyes, and embraced them; and after a little while, having come out into the

¹ Kuñjara, "elephant." Mayura, "peacock." Piyaka, "a spotted deer." But these names are also connected with certain plants.

reception hall, thus addressed his sorrowing family :—" My beloved children, I, your father, may only remain here in peace for three days, and after that must go away with the youth Kaccāyano and obey his commands. Indeed, he desires to depart on this very day, but, as I had not given you my instructions, I begged him to remain a day or two. I will now tell you your line of conduct, and do you all take it well to heart ; and if the king asks you, when you go into his presence, whether your father gave you any commands, you can relate to him all I now say, and when he hears your words he will remember me with regret, and appoint you to proper posts." On hearing these words his family wept bitterly.

(Here ends the canto called "Lakkhaṇa.")

* * * * *

When the weeping had ceased, he said : " My children, be not afraid : all the laws of 'Bhūmakasaṅkhāra' are impermanent.¹ Wealth and riches are lost and destroyed. I will now relate to you the verses called 'Rājavasatī,' attention to which will ensure earthly wealth and happiness."

*The Rājavasatī, or "King-service."*²

1. If anyone desire royal service, being seated, listen to me ;
How a man, having entered the service of royal personages, may attain unto honour.
2. That man obtains not a royal family who is inconspicuous in wisdom ;
Nor the coward, the fool, nor the sluggard, at any time.

¹ I do not find this combination in Childers. According to the Burmese, *saṅkhāra* means "mutability," but here it seems to indicate the stages of existence both in this life and the next.

² This consists of 46 couplets, beginning—

1. Ethayyo rājavasatim | nisiditva sunātha me |
Yathā rājakulam patto | yasam poso nigacchati |

I am indebted to Mrs. M. Bode for her valuable assistance in translating these Pāli gāthas.

3. When he acquires virtue, wisdom, and purity,
He (the king) confides in him, and keeps no secret
from him.
4. Even as a balance, held rightly with equal beam,
Unshaken, let him not tremble; let him serve the king.
5. Even as a balance, rightly held with equal beam,
Obtaining full knowledge of all things, let him serve
the king.
6. By day or by night, learned in the king's service,
Unshaken, not wavering, let him serve the king.
7. By day or by night, learned in the king's service,
Gaining knowledge in all things, let him serve the king.
8. Though one say to him, the road is made ready for
the king;
Even though the king urge him to go by it, he should
not; let him serve the king.
9. Let him not eat, as the king, food or dainties.
Let him even keep behind others; let him serve the king.
10. Let him not wear garments, wreaths, perfumes, nor
ornaments, nor speak, nor do as the king does:
Let him use other adornments; let him serve the king.
11. Should the king take his pleasure, surrounded by
courtiers and women,
With his courtiers and women let not the wise man
dally.
12. Not puffed up with pride; prudent, with senses well
guarded;
Firmly resolved in his heart; let him serve the king.
13. He should not dally with the king's wife, nor remain in
a secluded place with her:
Let him not use the king's treasure; let him serve
the king.
14. Let him not love much sleep, nor drink intoxicating
drinks;
Nor fling the dice, nor game in the king's presence; let
him serve the king.
15. Let him not mount the king's couch, chair, throne, or
chariot,

Thinking, "I am chosen for honour"; let him serve the king.

16. Let not the discerning man go too far from the king, nor too near him:

Let him stand in his presence so as to be seen and heard without difficulty.

17. He should not say, "The king is my friend; the king is my foster-brother":

Swift is the anger of the king, as the smart of a mote in the eye.

18. Though he think himself revered (by the king), the wiser and more learned man,

Let him not answer harshly the king when in the assembly.

19. Though he has the right to enter the door, let him not enter without the king's permission:

King's authority is as fire: let him serve the king.

20. If the king thinks to favour son or brother with villages, townships, districts, or provinces,

Being silent let him look on, nor cunningly speak ill of him.

21. To the elephant-riders, the royal guards, the charioteers, and foot-soldiers, when he gives wages, and the king increases their pay,

Let him not interfere; let him serve the king.

22. As a bow with an arrow fitted to it, bending as a bamboo reed,

Let him not act in opposition; let him serve the king.

23. His words should be as few as those of a tongueless fish,

Measured, prudent, brave; let him serve the king.

24. Let him not go to touch women, for loss of power is sure;

Cough, asthma, suffering, weakness, and wasting come upon him.

25. Let him not talk over much, nor let him keep silence:

When the time is fit let him speak, not ramblingly but measuredly.

26. Not wrathful nor jarring, gentle, truthful, not back-biting.
Let him not talk frivolous talk ; let him serve the king.
27. Let him cherish mother and father, and respect his elders.
Fearful of sinning, let him serve the king.
28. Well-trained, skilful, temperate, steadfast, and kind ;
Strenuous, pure, and clever ; let him serve the king.
29. Lowly to his elders, obedient, and humble ;
Compassionate, and pleasant to dwell with ; let him serve the king.
30. Though he speaks with ambassadors on secret business,
He should look only to his lord's welfare.
31. Both on Samanas and Brahmans, holy and profound in learning,
Let him respectfully wait ; and let him serve the king.
32. Both Samanas and Brahmans, holy and profound in learning,
Let him lodge with care ; and let him serve the king.
33. Both Samanas and Brahmans, holy and profound in learning,
Let him refresh with food and drink ; and let him serve the king.
34. Both Samanas and Brahmans, holy and profound in learning,
Who have attained wisdom, let him serve, asking deep questions.
35. Let him not omit customary gifts to Samanas and Brahmans ;
Nor let him forbid beggars at alms-time.
36. Wise, endowed with knowledge, skilled in rites and observance of the law,
Well knowing times and seasons, let him serve the king.
37. Active in his doings, vigilant, discerning,
Acting with good arrangement, let him serve the king.
38. Constantly visiting his threshing-floor, barns, cattle, and fields,
Let him store up the corn when measured, and when measured let it be cooked in his house.

39. If son or brother be unstable in the commandments
[duties], like helpless children in arms, or ghosts,
Let him give them clothes, food, and abiding places.
40. Servants who are steadfast in their duties,
Skilful and active folk, let him place before others.
41. Religious and uncovetous, strongly attached to the king;
Both openly and in secret beneficial to him; let him
serve the king.
42. Let him know the king's wish; let him know the king's
aims;
Unfaltering in his conduct, let him serve the king.
43. When (the king is) clothing and bathing, or feet-
washing, head-lowered,¹
And when struck not wrathful; let him serve the king.
44. If one gives salutation to pots and does reverence to
basins,
Why to the giver of all good things should not the
best be given?²
45. Whosoever gives beds, clothes, vehicles, habitations, and
houses,
Even as a rain-cloud to beings, he pours down wealth.
46. This Rājavasatī if a man practise,
He propitiates kings, and obtains both wealth and honour.

On the third day Vidhūra, having bathed and dressed himself, went to the King's palace, to pay his respects and take leave, and addressed the King thus:—"My lord king, this young man is taking me away; his mind is set upon going. I would speak to thee concerning the good of my family: listen, victorious one. When the youth asked me how I was related to thee, I truly replied that I was thy servant. That, indeed, is the only fault, as far as I can see, that I have committed. If a man slips upon the earth

¹ That is to say, "he should not look at the king's face, but stand with averted eyes."

² The first line of 44 runs thus: "Kumbhaññhi pañjalim kayirā | cātāñcāpi padakkhinam." The meaning is obscure, and the Burmese translation is: "On beholding pots full of water, kingfishers and other birds, though they can give no advantages, yet we salute them with raised hands."

and falls, on that spot even he must remain. That slip of mine I look at as my fault. Be not angry with me for that error, but take care of my family and possessions, and let them not be destroyed."

Korabya.

"It is not pleasant to hear that you must depart. I will endeavour by some stratagem to prevent your departure. I will summon the youth to my palace and secretly make away with him."

Vidhūra.

"My Lord, though this thought of thine arises through love and pity for me, it is not right; there is no benefit in it. Put it from thee and think only of what is meritorious. All beings must grow old and die. I bear no ill-will to this youth. He may beat me, or free me, or kill me. Being his slave, I must submit to his will and go with him."

So Vidhūra, having respectfully saluted the King, and admonished the nobles and attendants, left the palace; and all the queens and ladies, being unable to restrain their feelings, with dishevelled hair and streaming eyes, beating their breasts, followed him in great sorrow. The people of the city came in crowds to see him depart; and he exhorted them, saying: "Be not sorrowful: actions, affections, seasons, food, are all impermanent. Both one's earthly body and possessions must come to an end; therefore, reflecting on these things, we should give alms and observe our religious duties." Having thus admonished them and sent them home, he proceeded to his house. Just then his son Dhammapāla, and the rest of his family, having come out to look for him, met him at the gate; and when he saw his children, being unable to restrain his sorrow, he embraced them, weeping, and entered into his house. Now Vidhūra "the wise" had a thousand sons, a thousand daughters, a thousand wives, and seven hundred concubines, and very

many slaves and kinsmen. The whole of these were smitten with grief and sorrow, and lay prostrate as the "sal" trees when smitten by a whirlwind from Mount Yugantara; and with a mighty murmur they besought him not to leave them; but, having comforted them, and set his household affairs in order, he left them and entered into the presence of Puṇṇaka, saying: "Youth, in accordance with my wish, you have waited here in my palace two or three days, and my instructions to my family are complete: do according to your wish."

Puṇṇaka.

"Since you have completed your arrangements let us depart, for the distance we have to go is long. Without fear take hold of my horse's tail, for this is the last time that you shall behold the habitation of men."

Vidhūra.

"Of what should, then, I be in dread?
To none have I ever done evil
By thought, or by word, or by deed,
To make me the prey of the Devil."¹

Then, fearless as a lion, he uttered this act of truth: "May this cloth with which my loins are now girt ne'er leave me as long as I require it"; and, mounting on to the horse's crupper, and firmly grasping the tail, he said: "Youth, I have firm hold of your horse's tail: go whithersoever you desire."

At that instant Puṇṇaka thought, "What is the use of my taking this Vidhūra to a distant place? I will carry him to the Himavanta forest, and, having dragged him through the ravines and thorn-brakes till the life is out of him, cast his dead body into a chasm, and carry his heart to Nāga-land." So he directed his horse Manomaya thither, and urged him swiftly through the trees. But, by the

¹ "Gaccheyya duggatim." But Buddhists believe that they will be tortured by devils in hell.

virtue of the Bodhisat's accumulated merit the trees kept away from his body for the distance of a cubit.

When Puṇṇaka looked back to see if he were dead, and beheld his face shining with brightness, he again urged his horse thrice through the thickets; but to no purpose. Being greatly enraged, he rode into a mighty wind, but by the power of the Bodhisat it divided in two; and though he did this seven times he was unable to kill him, so he carried him off to the mountain called Kālāgiri.

Now Vidhūra's wives and family, thinking that he was a very long time in the upper chamber with Puṇṇaka, ascended to see what he was doing; and when they saw him not, raised a great cry, saying, "This demon in the likeness of a youth has carried off our lord"; and they wept and wailed bitterly. And when the King heard the sound thereof, he inquired what was the matter; and when they told him, he comforted them, saying: "Be not afraid, and cease from weeping, for he can preach the law sweetly, and will bring that youth to reason. Do not be so disturbed: he will soon return."

When Puṇṇaka arrived at the top of Kālāgiri, he thought—"If I do not kill this Vidhūra I shall not get Irandhatī, and all my trouble will be for nought. I will kill him, and, having taken out his heart, carry it to Queen Vimalā, and bear away Irandhatī to my abode. It will not, however, do for me to kill him with my own hands, but I must cause his death through fear." So he set Vidhūra down on the peak of the mountain, and took the appearance of a frightful demon, which threw Vidhūra prone on his back, and then held him between its ~~tusks~~ as if it would devour him; but the Bodhisat was not in the least terrified. He then endeavoured to frighten him by taking the appearances of a lion, a must elephant, and a huge serpent; but the Bodhisat was not terrified by them. Then, thinking he would grind him to powder, he caused a mighty whirlwind to blow on him as he lay on the mountain-top; but that wind did not even disturb one hair of his head. He then caused the whole mountain

of Kālāgiri to be agitated, but was unable to terrify him; so he entered into the heart of the mountain and yelled loudly, but, though the noise was terrible, the Bodhisat was not disturbed.

Finding that he could not terrify him by any of these means, he, in the form of a frightful demon, took him by both feet and hurled him from the top of Kālāgiri; but the Bodhisat fell lightly, as a ball of dressed cotton, at a distance of fifteen yūjanās. Then, taking him up again head downwards and finding that he was not yet dead, he hurled him again into the heavens, and he fell at a distance of sixty yūjanās.

After this had been done, the Bodhisat thought—"He may hurl me away again, or, taking me by the feet, beat me to death against this mountain, but I shall not be afraid; for to say nothing of these terrors, if at the end of this cycle, during the 'samvattathāvi' (desolation?),¹ even were I cast down from the realms of Vehapphalo into bottomless void, yet by reason of 'self-possession' I should have no fear; I should still be Vidhūra, the wise minister of the King of Kuru." Then he said:—"Youth, your appearance is that of a good man, but you are not so. Your appearance is that of one who keeps himself under restraint, but you do not do so. You do that which is evil and profitless. Your actions are not meritorious. Why do you hurl me into these chasms? What advantage will you gain by my death? I do not think you are a man, but a Rakshasa: by what name are you known amongst Devas?"

Punnaka.

"Have you not heard of Punnaka in the country of men? I am the general of the armies of King Vessavaṇ. I desire to wed the lovely Irandhatī, daughter of Vimalā, the Queen of the Nāga king Varuṇa; and because I desire to wed her, it is my purpose to slay you."

¹ See Childers, under "Kappo."

Vidhūra.

"O Puṇṇaka, descend not to the level of fools. Oftentimes men come to destruction for doing the evil that they ought not to do. Why do you want to marry this lovely Nāga princess? What profit will you get by my death?"

Puṇṇaka.

"O wise minister, I will tell you. I know not whether it was because we were once married and loved each other in a former existence, but from the first moment that I saw her I was urged by love to demand her from the Nāga king, who informed me in the verses beginning 'Dujjemukho,' etc., that I must obtain lawfully, as her price, the heart of Vidhūra; and, therefore, I desire to get your heart. I do not desire to injure you for a mere idle whim. I won you lawfully and I desire to take your heart lawfully and present it to the Nāga king, so that I may obtain Irandhatī. And as your death would be a great advantage to me, I have brought you to this place."

The Bodhisat, on hearing this, reflected—"What does Vimalā want with my heart?"¹ Varuṇa, having heard me preach the law, and having presented me with the ruby that adorns her neck, will probably, when he returned to the Nāga country, have praised my preaching before his queens and courtiers; and, on that account, his chief queen, Vimalā, wishing to hear me, has laid this stratagem, and Varuṇa, not understanding it, has sent this ignorant Rakshasa Puṇṇaka, and he is ill-treating me owing to his bad disposition. I indeed am wise, but if I die by the hand of this Puṇṇaka what will be the use of my having been wise? I will even now show him my power." So he said: "Youth, listen to the law called 'Sādhunara,' and after you have heard it do with me according to your desire."

Puṇṇaka, saying to himself, "I do not think this law

¹ Vidhūra either had the power of omniscience, or Puṇṇaka thought aloud.

has ever been preached before to men and devas," raised up Vidhūra and set him on his feet on the top of the mountain, saying: "I have taken you out of the abyss and set you on the mountain. I have other business besides taking your heart, so that no good law may be unknown to men make it known to me."

The Bodhisat answered: "Youth, since you have other business besides taking my heart, and have saved me from the abyss, and, desiring to hear the law called 'Sādhunara,' have set me on the top of this mountain, I also will declare this law unto you; but my body is covered with dust and dirt, and it is not proper to preach when the body is defiled with dirt: permit me, I pray you, to bathe."

So Puṇṇaka brought bathing water, and caused the Bodhisat to bathe* in it; and when he had done, dressed him and anointed him with fairy scents, and fed him with fairy food. Then, having prepared the top of Kālāgiri in a suitable manner for preaching the law, the Bodhisat, sitting cross-legged, said—

"Follow him who goes before thee;
Dry not, youth, the hand that's wet;
Never to thy friend be faithless;
Follow not the wanton's beck.

These are the four precepts of the 'Sādhunara,' and he who adheres to them may be called a good man."

Puṇṇaka, not being able to understand, answered: "(1) wise one, who is he that has gone before? Why must one not dry the wet hand? Who is he that errs against his friend? What is a wanton? Explain to me this law; it is too difficult for me to understand."

Whereupon the Bodhisat replied: "If another should confer acts of hospitality on oneself, though he has never seen or met one before, to that person one should in like manner repay with gratitude those acts which he has done. This is the law called 'Yātānuyāyi.'

"If, for even one night, one should rest in a person's house, and obtain the slightest refreshment, one should not

transgress against that person, even in thought. This is the law called '*Allaṇi parivajjaya.*'

"Whosoever takes shelter beneath a tree, he should not break even a branch or twig thereof; it is his friend. This is the law called '*Mittadubbhi.*'"

"Though a badly-disposed woman be taken in marriage, and obtain all the worldly goods it is possible to give her, yet, if she sees an opportunity for entertaining a lover, she will do injury to her husband without thought of gratitude. Verily, if a man be overcome by the blandishments of such a woman and gives her all her desires, his profit will be nought, and he will be harassed in body and mind. This is the law called '*Asutimam nagacche.*'"

(Here ends the "Sādhunara" canto.)

* * * * *

The Bodhisat having thus preached the law, Puṇṇaka thought thus:—"The wise one appears by these four laws to ask for his life. He never saw my face before, and though I was not his close friend, yet he treated me in his house as if I had dwelt with him aforetime. I enjoyed his hospitality for three or four days, and now the only reason I have for ill-treating him is for the sake of a woman. If I look at these four laws I see that I have been false to my friend. If I were to kill him I should verily be one who follows not the law called '*Sādhunara,*' and if I am said to be one who does not according to this law I should not be desired by the Nāga king's daughter. I will restore the wise one to his country, and gladden the hearts of his people and family": so he said: "O most excellent one, I dwelt in your home for several days, and you fed me; you are indeed a friend against whom I should not transgress. Truly, I will release you. I deserve not the Nāga king's darling; through desire for her I ought not to have done this evil deed. Because you have preached the law well I will free you from death."

When he said this the Bodhisat answered: "O Deva, do not convey me to my home yet. Since I have never yet

beheld the treasures of the Nāga king, take me to Nāga-land."

Puṇṇaka thereupon answered gladly: "We will go at once to the glorious land of the Nāgas, and thou shalt behold it. That country is full of all splendours and delights." When they arrived there, Puṇṇaka, placing the Bodhisat behind him, went into the presence of the Nāga king; and when the King saw them he said: "Youth, you went to the country of men to fetch the heart of the wise Vidhūra: now that you have brought him himself, is your purpose accomplished?"

And Puṇṇaka answered: "My lord king of the Nāgas, you desired Vidhūra, and he has come. I obtained him lawfully. Behold him. There is great happiness in associating with good people, even though it be for a moment."

(Here ends the chapter called "Kālāgiri.")

* * * * *

After the Nāga king had conversed thus with Puṇṇaka, he turned to Vidhūra and said: "O wise nobleman, is it because of these unwonted splendours, which you have not beheld in the country of men, that, without fear of death, you are unable to pay respect to me, but remain in a state of stupefaction? He who is afraid when opportunity arrives cannot be called wise. Judging from your present conduct, I am of opinion that your fame for wisdom amongst men is a mistake."

The Bodhisat.

"O Nāga king, I have no fear of death. Who is likely to kill me? Verily, beings should not bow to those whom they are about to kill; neither should they bow down to those who are about to kill them."

The Nāga king.

"Thy words are true, indeed; one should not bow down to the person who ought to be slain, nor should one bow to the slayer. For who would do obeisance to the person who desires to slay him?"

The Bodhisat.

“O king of the Nāgas, this wealth and glory of yours are not lasting. I will ask you one question. Why did you obtain this fairy palace? Did you get it for nothing, or through the change of seasons? Was it wrought by your hand, or was it given you by some fairy? How did you get it?”

The Nāga king.

“O wise one, I got not this palace and wealth without cause; nor did I get it through the natural changes of the seasons. It was not given to me by the fairies; but I obtained it by merit accrued in a former existence.”

The Bodhisat.

“O Nāga king, what was this meritorious action? What was the good deed that you performed? Your glory and wealth are very great: of what good deeds are they the result?”

The Nāga king.

“O wise one, when I and my queen Vimalā dwelt in the city of Campānagaram, in the country of Aṅga, we were both of like mind as to almsgiving, and never lost an opportunity for giving alms. Our house was full of all those things that are bestowed on ascetics, as it were a well of water, and we gave them the ten lawful gifts, viz.: rice, sweet liquor, scent, unguents, lamp oil, cloths, mattresses, couches, monasteries, and medicine. As the result of those excellent deeds we enjoy these delights.”

The Bodhisat.

“Since then, O Nāga king, you obtained this palace as the result of a good deed, you know what is merit and also its results. Forget not this knowledge, and continue to act upon it. If you do so you will in the hereafter obtain another palace.”

The Nāga king.

"As there are no hermits or Brahmans in this country, as in the land of men, I am unable to give alms. What meritorious action can I do here so as to ensure a happy abode in the next state?"

The Bodhisat.

"O King, be ever kind to your people, relations and attendants, chastening them with a loving hand if necessary. Be not angry with them. By increasing your love and patience you will hereafter acquire a higher station amongst the Devas."

The Nāga king.

"Vidhūra, thou art the minister who art wont to instruct the intimate friends of the King of Kuru, and Korabya himself, through being long parted from you, is very sorrowful. He can only be comforted by your return."

The Bodhisat.

"O King, you say this through having reflected on the law of righteousness. It is well known that my great qualities can assist him in calamity."

The Nāga king.

"Tell me truly, did Puṇṇaka obtain you for nothing or did he win you by dice? He tells me that he obtained you lawfully."

The Bodhisat.

"My lord king, Dhanañcaya lost me to Puṇṇaka by a throw of the dice; and as I belonged to the King, he gave me to Puṇṇaka. He obtained me lawfully."

The Nāga king

(Having taken Vidhūra into the Queen's chamber).

"My Lady Vimalā, you were sickly, downcast, and wasted on account of the wise Vidhūra. He whom thou desiredst

is even this man here. He can dispel all wrath and darkness from the hearts of men and Devas. O Queen Vimalā, you desired his heart's flesh; he has now come to you: listen to the law that he will preach to you. It will be difficult to find his equal in wisdom."

When Queen Vimalā saw the Nāga king coming and leading Vidhūra by the hand, with joy she raised her ten slender fingers to her head, and said: "Wise one, thou payest not reverence through stupefaction on seeing such splendours. It is a mistake to call thee 'wise.'"

The Bodhisat.

"Nāga princess, I am not afraid through beholding you. Who would kill one so wise as I am? Nāga princess, no one about to be slain makes obeisance to his slayer, nor does the slayer do reverence to him whom he is about to slay."

Vimalā.

"It is as you say, O wise one. A person should not do reverence to those who intend to slay him."

The Bodhisat then asks the Queen the same question as he asked the King, and the Bodhisat preaches the law of kindness. The Queen states that she is satisfied with having heard the "law," which is his "heart"; and that she thinks King Dhanañcaya Korabya must be very sorrowful at being separated from him, and will be delighted to see him again.

The Bodhisat replies that this is undoubtedly the case, as there is no one so skilled in giving good advice as he is.

The Queen asks him to tell her how Puṇṇaka managed to get possession of him, and the Bodhisat replies: "Be not afraid, O Nāga, and take no thought as to how to slay me. I present myself wholly to thee. If you still desire my heart I will take it out and give it you, and if you want my flesh I will cut it off and give it you."

The Nāga king.

"O wise one, the 'heart' of a wise man is his wisdom. I have heard you preach the law, and my desire is fulfilled. Since Puṇṇaka has brought thee to this country, according to my wish, and both the wishes of myself and queen have been fulfilled, we will give him our daughter Irandhatī to wife; and do you, Puṇṇaka, this very day convey Vidhūra back to Indapattanagaraṃ."

So Puṇṇaka, being delighted at having obtained Irandhatī, said: "O wise nobleman, I will repay you for the good you have done me by giving you this 'Manohara' ruby, and this very day restore you to Indapattanagaraṃ."

The Bodhisat.

"May you dwell happily in your palace with this lovely Nāga princess for the rest of your existence, and may nothing interfere with your mutual love; and since you are a true friend, you may give me the ruby and restore me to my home."

Puṇṇaka.

"Good, let us depart. Get up on to my horse." And placing Vidhūra before him on his horse "Manomaya," in an instant, after bidding farewell to the Nāga king, they arrived in the country of Kuru, where Puṇṇaka set him down, and, after again thanking him, rode off to the realms of the four great Rājas.

On the morning of the day on which Vidhūra returned, King Korabya dreamed that there was a great tree near the door of his palace covered with sweet fruit, and which gave shade and shelter to all kinds of animals, and that all men made offerings and adorations to it. A cruel-looking black man, carrying a sword and wearing a bright red cloth, came and cut down this tree and took it away, to the great grief of everyone. Not long afterwards the same savage-looking man came back and set it up as it was before.

When the King awoke he related his dream, and felt sure that it related to Vidhūra; for none other than Vidhūra could be like unto this tree, for his wisdom resembled the roots, his religious duties the branches, and his preaching the sweet fruit. He felt sure, therefore, that Vidhūra was about to be restored to him, and was joyful. He therefore ordered the city to be decorated, the court to be prepared, and all the princes and nobles to be assembled.

So when Puṇṇaka set Vidhūra down in the law-court, and went off with Irandhatī to "Catumahārāj," the King was overcome with delight; and, rising from his seat, took him by the arm and led him to the throne that had been prepared opposite to him, and thus addressed him: "Vidhūra, you have come back to rejoice my heart as a chariot that has been repaired after it has been broken. How did you escape from the hands of the youth who took you away?"

Vidhūra then related (in verse) all that had befallen him, and at the conclusion said:—"Thus, O King, because Puṇṇaka had set his affections on Irandhatī he carried me off to slay me; but obtained his desire only by placing full reliance on me. The King of the Nāgas, and his queen Vimalā, too, by obtaining my heart, which is 'true wisdom,' were satisfied. In gratitude the Nāga king restored me to my home and country, and I obtained the wonderful ruby which may be worn by Cakkavatti monarchs alone; I now present it to you, my Lord."

The King then related his dream to the assembly, released all those who were in prison, and proclaimed a universal holiday for a month.

After the rejoicings were over, and to the end of his life, Vidhūra instructed the King and his people with discourses in almsgiving and religious duties, and when he died passed to Tāvātimsa. All those who were confirmed in the law went to the land of the Devas.

At the end of the Jātaka the Buddha summed up as follows: "The then king and queen are now my royal

parents, the heads of the Sākī race; Vidhūra's wife, Anulā, is now Rāhulā's mother; Varuṇa the Nāga king is now my disciple Sāriputtarā, the son of the Brāhmani Rūpa,¹ of the village of Upatissā; the Gaḷuna (Garuḷa) king is now Moggalāno, my second disciple, the son of the Brāhmani Moggali, of the village of Kolita; Sakko is now my uncle Dododhana's son, Anuruddha; King Korabya is now Ānandā; Puṇṇaka is now Angulimāla, the son of the Brahman Bhattagga, the chief teacher of Kosala, king of Sāvutthi; the horse Manomaya is my horse Kaṇḍaka; Queen Vimalā is now Khemā, the nun, who was the queen of Bimbisāra, king of Rājagriha (see R.A.S. Journal, July 1893, p. 529); Irandhatī is now Kisagotamī; and Vidhūra is now I, the Buddha."

¹ Both Rūpa and Moggali are here called "Puṇṇema," the fem. form of "Puṇṇā." ပုဏ္ဏမ used by the Burmese to denote a Brahman. Stevenson has made no attempt in his dictionary to explain the word. The fem. is evidently Puṇṇī + *ma*, the Burmesé fem. affix. The word is probably a very old one, and derived rather from Sanskrit than Pali.

ART. XII.—*Chao Ju-kua's Ethnography: Table of Contents and Extracts regarding Ceylon and India, and some Articles of Trade.* By F. HIRTH, PH.D.

[For an introduction to this paper see Art. III—*Chao Ju-kua, a new source of Mediæval Geography*, p. 57 seqq. of this volume.]

CHAO JU-KUA'S ethnographical work, the *Chu-fan-chih*, consists of two parts (books, *chüan*). In the first part the author describes the various countries concerned in the Oriental sea-trade of his time; while the second part treats upon the foreign products brought as merchandise to China, and is followed, by way of supplement, by a detailed description of the island of Hainan, which in those days had among all the possessions of the empire risen to a high state of civilization, owing to a large number of statesmen, poets, and philosophers having spent years of their lives there in banishment during the Sung dynasty.

The following Table of Contents gives the headings under which the various countries and articles of trade are discussed:—

PART I. COUNTRIES, viz.:—

1. Chiao-chih [Tungking].
2. Chan-ch'êng [Annam; Cochinchina].
3. Pin-tung-lung [a territory of Southern Annam, comprising the island of Pulo Condor, so called from the name of a Buddhist saint—Pin-t'ou-lu].
4. Chên-la [Kambodja].
5. Têng-liu-mei [a territory in the west of Kambodja].
6. P'u-kan [Pagán in Burma].
7. San-fo-ch'i [Palembang, Sumatra].

8. Tan-ma-ling.
9. Ling-ya-ssü [Lingas].
10. Fo-lo-an.
11. Hsin-t'ó [Sunda ?].
12. Chien-pi [Kampar ?].
13. Lan-wu-li [Lambri].
14. Shê-p'ó [Java].
15. Su-chi-tan [Sukitan, the central part of Java].
16. Nan-p'i [Malabar].
17. Hu-ch'a-la [Guzerat].
18. Ma-lo-hua [Malwa].
19. Chu-lien [Orissa, the empire of the Kesari dynasty].
20. Ta-ts'in [Syria, perhaps blended with matter belonging to the See, then removed farther east, of the Nestorian patriarch].
21. T'ien-chu [part of India].
22. Ta-shih [the Arab territories].
23. Ma-chia [Mecca].
24. Tsêng-po [Zanzibar].
25. Pi-pa-lo [Berbera].
26. Wu-pa.
27. Chung-li [some African territory : Somali ?].
28. Yung-man [Oman].
29. Chi-shih [the island of Kîsh].
30. Pai-ta [Baghdad].
31. Pi-ssü-lo [Basra].
32. Chi-tzü-ni.
33. Wu-ssü-li.
34. Lu-mei [Rûm].
35. Mu-lan-p'i [Murâbit, Andalusia].
36. Wu-ssü-li [Masr, Egypt].
37. Ngo-kên-t'ó [Alexandria].
38. Miscellaneous countries, viz. :—
 - a. Yen-t'ó-man [the Andaman Islands].
 - b. K'un-lun-tsêng-chi [the Zingis, Ziu, or Zeng tribes on the coast of Africa].
 - c. Sha-hua-kung [a pirate state in the Archipelago].
 - d. The Country of the Women.

- e. Po-ssü [here probably not Persia, but some other country, which I have not been able to identify].
- f. Ch'a-pi-sha [Djabarso].
- g. Ssü-chia-li-yeh [Sicily].
- h. Mo-chieh-la [Maghrib, Morocco].
- 39. Po-ni [Brni, Borneo].
- 40. Ma-yi [Mindoro, Philippines].
- 41. San-hsü [certain islands among the Philippines].
- 42. Liu-chiu [part of Formosa].¹
- 43. Pi-shê-yeh [Bizaya ?—savages of South Formosa].
- 44. Hsin-lo [Sinra, Corea].
- 45. Wo [Japan].

PART II. ARTICLES OF TRADE, viz.:—

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|--|---|
| 1. Camphor. | 18. Lakawood. |
| 2. Frankincense. | 19. Musk Wood [<i>Shê-hsiang-mu</i>]. |
| 3. Myrrh. | 20. The Jack Fruit. |
| 4. An incense called <i>Chin-yen-hsiang</i> . | 21. The Areca Palm; Betel Nuts. |
| 5. Dammar [dhuna, <i>Tu-nao-hsiang</i>]. | 22. Cocoa Nuts. |
| 6. Liquid Storax. | 23. Galls [<i>Mo-shih-tzü</i>]. |
| 7. Benzoin. | 24. Ebony Wood [<i>Wu-mên-tzü</i> , in the Amoy dialect <i>o-ban-tzü</i> = Persian <i>abnûs</i>]. |
| 8. Bécho Nuts [<i>Chi-tzü-hua</i> , <i>Gardenia floribunda</i>]. | 25. Sapanwood. |
| 9. Rosewater. | 26. Cotton. |
| 10. Lignaloes. | 27. Mats. |
| 11 to 14. Certain fragrant wood incenses. | 28. Putchuck. |
| 15. Sandalwood. | 29. The Cardamom. |
| 16. Cloves. | 30. Pepper. |
| 17. Nutmegs. | 31. Cubobs. |

¹ The text of Chao Ju-kua's *Liu-chiu* contains various passages identical with the old account in the *Sui-shu*, which it has been shown does not apply to the Loo-choo Islands, but Formosa. See Schlegel, "Problèmes géographiques," in *T'oung-pao*, vol. vi, p. 165 seqq.

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|----------------------------------|----------------------------|
| 32. Asa Foetida. | 40. Rhinoceros Horns. |
| 33. Aloes. | 41. Castoreum. |
| 34. The Coral-tree. | 42. Kingfishers' Feathers. |
| 35. Glass. | 43. Parrots. |
| 36. Cats' Eyes. | 44. Ambergris. |
| 37. Pearls. | 45. Tortoise Shell. |
| 38. Ch'ê-ch'ü [a kind of shell]. | 46. Yellow Wax. |
| 39. Ivory. | Appendix : Hainan. |

SPECIMEN OF TRANSLATION.

(a) *Extracts from Part I: FOREIGN COUNTRIES.*

13. LAN-WU-LI.

The country of Lan-wu-li [Amoy dialect: Lam-bu-li= Ramuñ or Lambri¹] produces sapanwood, ivory, and white rattan. The inhabitants are warlike and often use poisonous arrows. With the north wind you come within a little more than twenty days to the country of Hsi-lan [Ceylon], which is under the government of Nan-p'i [Malabar]. Sailing from Lan-wu-li, you know that you are coming to Hsi-lan [Ceylon] by the flashing of lightning always visible. The king is black, with unkempt hair, and wears no covering on his head; he wears no regular clothes, but is merely wrapped in cloth of various colours, and his feet are protected by sandals of red leather [fastened] with gold thread. When going out he rides on an elephant or in a kind of litter [*juan-tou*, a word which Professor Schlegel, *T'oung-pao*, vol. vi, p. 163, suggests to be a transcription of a Ceylonese word *handul*, meaning a litter]. He eats every day a paste made of betel nuts burnt together with

¹ Cf. Yule, *Marco Polo*, 2nd ed., vol. ii, p. 283, note 1. A German version of Chao Ju-kua's accounts of Lan-wu-li and Nan-p'i has been published in the *T'oung-pao*, vol. vi, p. 152 *seqq.*, where the sinological reader will find the Chinese characters of some of the names.

real pearl ashes. His palace is decked with cats' eyes and blue and red jewels [sapphires and rubies?], cornelians, and other precious stones; the very floor he walks upon is so adorned. There is an eastern and a western palace, at each of which there is planted a golden tree; their stems and stalks being made of gold, their flowers, fruits, and leaves of cats' eyes, blue and red jewels, and the like precious stones. Underneath [each of] these trees there is a golden throne with [partition] walls of glass. When holding court, the king ascends the eastern throne in the morning and the western throne in the evening. At the spot where the king sits down there is continuous glittering of the jewels reflecting the sun's rays, the glass and the jewel tree shining upon each other like the glory of the rising sun. Two attendants constantly hold up a golden dish to receive the dregs of the betel nuts chewed by the king. The king's followers pay a monthly tax of one *yi* of gold [about 16 taels] into the Government treasury for receiving the betel-nut dregs, which contain camphor and all kinds of precious substances. The king holds in his hand a jewel [*lit.* precious pearl] five inches in diameter, which will stand the test of fire and shine at night like a torch; by rubbing his face with it every day, the king will keep his youthful looks, though he may be over ninety years old. The inhabitants are very dark-skinned; they wrap their bodies round with silk stuffs, are bareheaded, and go barefoot. They use their hands in taking their food. Household vessels are made of bronze. There is in the country a hill [or, an island] called Hsi-lun [*lit.* fine wheel], peaks rising over peaks, [on the top of which] there is the imprint, over seven feet in length, of the foot of a huge man, a like imprint being visible in the water within a distance of over 300 *li* from that hill. The trees in the forests of the hills, whether high or low, all round are bent towards it [as if curtsying].¹

¹ There can be little doubt as to the identity of this hill Hsi-lun with the Sripada of Buddhist lore, the footprints of Buddha on Adam's Peak (as it is called by the Muhammadans—the Samanta Kūṭa of the Sinhalese). Some

The [mineral] products are cats' eyes, red glass, camphor [*sic*], blue and red pearls [sapphires and rubies]; and the land produces cardamoms, the bark of the Mu-lan tree [Mangrove Bark?], coarse and fine incense. Foreign merchants import, in exchange for these products, sandalwood, cloves, camphor [*sic*], gold, silver, porcelain, horses, elephants, and silk stuffs. The country sends yearly tribute to San-fo-ch'i [Palembang, Sumatra].

16. NAN-P'I [Malabar].

The country of Nan-p'i¹ is in the extreme south-west. From San-fo-ch'i [Palembang, Sumatra] one may arrive

time previous to the period of our author the veneration of this sacred object had received (according to Lassen, "Indische Alterthumskunde," iv, 333) a fresh impetus by the devotion of the Sinhalese usurper Kirtti-Narasinha, who, being a native of Kaliuga, had made himself master of the island by making use of a temporary confusion in its Government. This Sinhalese monarch, whose reign extended from A.D. 1187 to 1196, was a great worshipper of Buddha, and, on one occasion, ascended the sacred Peak with an army in four divisions, in order to worship at the Foot Print. But according to the Mahā Vansa, a much better authority, Parākrama Bahu the Great, who conquered South India and Kambodja, was king 1164-1197; and there is no mention of Kirtti-Narasinha. The Arabs believed that Adam, after his expulsion from Paradise, was thrown on this very hill, and that the footprint belongs to him, whence the name Adam's Peak has arisen. When stepping out Adam set his other foot into the sea. The place has been a resort of both Muhammadan and Buddhist devotees throughout the Middle Ages, the Chinese, of course, taking the Buddhist view of this twofold tradition, though they have been informed of this legend, in which they call Adam "P'an Ku," the creator of mankind. Cf. *Mém. conc. les Chinois*, vol. xiv, p. 25; and Reipaud, *Relation*, etc., vol. ii, p. 5 *seq.*, and vol. ii, p. 8 *seq.* The Chinese name *Hsi-hu* (lit. fine, or small, wheel), while resembling that of the island, Ceylon, is probably connected with the Sanskrit *cakra*, denoting a wheel—"empreinte d'une roue à mille rais sous chaque pied du Bouddha" (Julien, *Houen-thsang*, vol. iii, p. 475).

¹ Pronounced *Nampi* in Canton. I am inclined to interpret this name as the transcription of some Indian word. The list of states or places mentioned by our author as belonging to this country (Coilom, Guzerat, Cambay, etc.) greatly facilitates its identification with the then flourishing kingdom of Malabar, but it appears that the name Nan-p'i is an ethnical title rather than a political term. The only passage which has occurred to me as throwing light on this subject was in the *Hsi-yang-ch'ao-kung-tien-lu* (ch. iii, p. 3), a work placing on record the results of the famous expeditions of the eunuch Ch'eng Ho about A.D. 1430. Speaking of the inhabitants of the country of Ku-li, i.e. Kalikut, it says that there five different classes, or castes, are distinguished, viz.: 1, the *Nan-p'i*; 2, the *Hui-hui*, or Muhammadans; 3, the *Ch'i-ti*; 4, the *Ko-ting*; 5, the *Mu-kua*. The *Hui-hui* are well known as Muhammadans; the term *Ch'i-ti* I venture to identify with the "Chetty," or merchants' caste (cf. Yule, *Anglo-Indian*

there with the monsoon in a little more than a month.¹ The capital of the country is styled Mieh-a-mo; in Chinese this says as much as *li-sü* [controller of sacrifice, priest?] ² The chief of the country wears clothing on his body, but walks barefoot; he wraps his head in cloth [*i.e.* wears a turban], and wears a loin cloth, all being of white cotton. Sometimes he wears a white cotton shirt with narrow sleeves.³ When going out he rides on an elephant, and is covered with a golden cap decorated with red pearls and gems. On his arm a golden band is fastened, and a golden

Glossary, p. 144, s.v. Chetty, and p. 615, s.v. Sett); *Ko-ling* may stand for "Kling" (cf. Yule, *op. cit.*, p. 372). *Mu-kua* is apparently the same as *Muea*, *Mukura*. *The fourth class are called *Meehwa*, and these are fishers" (Vurthema, Yule, p. 454). These identifications are based on similarity in sound merely, but the passage referred to gives us some further detail regarding the *Nan-p'i* and the *Hui-hui*. The former eat no beef, the *Hui-hui* eat no pork; the two castes, if we may so call them, do not intermarry, and have their own burial customs. In Calicut sixty per cent. of the entire population in those days (about A.D. 1430) were *Hui-hui*, or Muhammadans. I do not dare to forestall the opinion of Indian scholars with regard to the name *Nan-p'i* (Nambî). Could this word stand for *namburi*, "a Braluman of Malabar" (Yule, p. 471, s.v. Numbooree)?

¹ It took Ibn Batuta forty days to sail from Sumatra to Kaulam.—Yule, *Cathay*, p. 513.

² *Mieh-a-mo*, in Cantonese: *Mit-a-mat*, in the Amoy dialect: *Biat-ô-bwat*, possibly a Chinese corruption of Arabic *Maddari* or *Madari* (Madrabia), said to have been an old city in the kingdom of *Eli* described by Marco Polo. However, the few notices collected by Yule as referring to this city (*Marco Polo*, 2nd ed., vol. ii, p. 375 *sq.*) do not encourage me in thinking seriously of this identification. Another possibility may be looked for in the name *Ma'abar*, now applying to the coast of Coromandel. This would involve the extension of Chao Ju-kua's *Nan-p'i* to both the east and west coast of Southern India. Certain analogies in the Chinese and Marco Polo's account seem to support this supposition. The king of Ma'abar, like the ruler of *Nan-p'i*, wears golden armlets and ankle-rings (cf. Yule, p. 322). Both monarchs take pleasure in surrounding themselves with a large number of fine women, even the number agreeing in the two accounts. According to Marco Polo (Yule, p. 323), the king has "some five hundred wives"—"for whenever he hears of a beautiful damsel he takes her to wife." The king of *Nan-p'i*, besides his five hundred women, had a body-guard of twenty men guarding the royal insignia right and left, while Polo says: "there are about the king a number of barons in attendance upon him. These ride with him, and keep always near him," etc. We learn from a later Chinese authority that the *Nan-p'i* caste refrained from eating beef. So Polo says (Yule, p. 325): "The people are idolaters, and many of them worship the ox, because (they say) it is a creature of such excellence. They would not eat beef for anything in the world, nor would they on any account kill an ox."

³ "Ibn Batuta describes the King of Calicut, the great Zamorin, coming down to the beach to see the wreck of certain junks: his clothing consisted of a great piece of white stuff rolled about him from the navel to the knees, and a little scrap of a turban on his head; his feet were bare, and a young slave carried an umbrella over him."—Yule, *Marco Polo*, 2nd ed., vol. ii, p. 330, note 1.

chain surrounds his leg. Among the royal insignia there is a standard, adorned with peacocks' feathers, on a pole covered with vermillion, over twenty men guarding it right and left. He is attended by a guard of about five hundred picked foreign¹ women, selected for their fine physique: those in the front, leading the way with pantomimes, have cloth wrapped about their bodies, but walk barefoot, using merely a piece of cloth around their loins; those in the rear ride on horses without saddles, their loins are wrapped in cloth, their hair is dressed, and they wear necklaces of real pearls, anklets and foot rings of real gold, their bodies are anointed with camphor and musk mixed with drugs, while umbrellas made of peacocks' feathers protect them against the sun. In front of these dancing women are carried the officers in the king's train, sitting on bags of white foreign cloth, called "cloth-bag sedans," which are lifted on poles plated with gold and silver. In this country there is much sandy soil, and when the king goes out, they first send out an officer with over a hundred soldiers to sprinkle the ground with water to provide against gusts of wind whirling up the dust. The people are very dainty in their diet; they have a hundred ways of cooking their food, which varies every day. There is an official with the title "Academician" (*Han-lin*) who lays the meats and drinks before the king, and sees how much food he consumes; he regulates his diet in order that he may not exceed the proper measure. If perchance the king should fall sick for this reason, then he has to taste his faeces, and treat him according to their being sweet or bitter. The inhabitants of this country are of red-brown complexion; the lobes of their ears hang down to their shoulders. They are skilled in archery, and are good sword and lance men; they love fighting, and sit on elephants when doing so. In battle their heads are wrapped in turbans of coloured silks. They are particularly devout Buddhists. The country is warm, and there is no cold season. Rice, hemp, beans, wheat,

¹ *fan*, "foreign"; possibly standing for *fan*, "Indian," "Brahmin."

millet, and edible roots and provisions, are produced in sufficient quantity, and may be had at reasonable prices enough. They cut an alloy of white silver into coins, on which they engrave an official seal; the people use them for purposes of trade. The following products are found in this country: real pearls, all descriptions of foreign cloth, and cotton cloth. There is in this country a river with fresh water, which, at a place where a number of different passages unite, assumes very broad dimensions. By its side there are bold cliffs, on which there are constantly sparks [stars] to be seen. The magic emanating from these hardens into small stones resembling cats' eyes; their colour is clear and transparent; they lie buried in the recesses of the hills, until some day they are washed out by the rush of a flood. The officials at such times send out men in small boats to pick them up. The inhabitants consider them precious stones.¹ The following States are subject to this country,² viz.:—

1. *Ku-lin* [in Cantonese: *Kò-lám* = Kulam, Coilom].
2. *Hu-ch'a-la* [Guzerat].
3. *Kan-pa-i* [Canton: *Kòm-pa-yét*; cf. Yule, *Marco Polo*, vol. ii, p. 389, note 1: "Kambáyat"; Cambay].
4. *Pi-li-sha* [Barotsch ?].

¹ "The cat's eyes, by the Portuguese called *Ollas de Gatos*, occur in *Zeylon*, *Cambaya*, and *Pegu*."—Baldaeus, *Beschreibung der ostindischen Küsten Malabar und Coromandel*: Amsterdam, 1672. S. Yule, *Anglo-Indian Glossary*, p. 774. Probably neither Ceylon nor Pegu are meant in this passage, but Canbay, which, as we shall see directly, is enumerated as one of the territories belonging to Nan-p'i.

² The Chinese text merely contains the following thirty characters, which I have tried to divide and identify as nearly as possible with the limited knowledge of mediaeval India now at my disposal. The characters are: 故 臨 胡 茶 辣 甘 琶 逸 彌 離 沙 麻 囉 華 馮 牙 囉 麻 哩 抹 都 奴 何 啞 哩 諾 嗽 囉 囉 哩. Regarding the ports on the coast of Malabar during the Middle Ages, see Yule's note devoted to this subject in *Cathay*, p. 650 *seqq.*

5. *Ma-lo-hua* [Canton: *Má-lò-urá*=Malwa].
6. *Fung-ya-lo* [Amoy: *Bang-ga-lo*=Mangalor? cf. Lassen, *Indische Alterthumskunde*, vol. i, p. 188: Mangarut, Mangalor].
7. *Ma-li-mo* [Amoy: *Ma-li-bwat*=Malibar?].
8. *Tu-nu-ho* [Tanore?].
9. *A-li-joh*, or *A-li-no*.
10. *Ngao-lo-lo-ni* [Cananor?].

This country is very far, and the foreign vessels rarely go thither. Shih-lo-pa-chih-li-kan, father and son, belong to this race of people. They now live in the south of the city of Ch'üan [Chinchew]. The products are carried from this country to Chi-lo-ta-lung [a name which I cannot identify] and San-fo-ch'i [Palembang, Sumatra]; and the following goods are exchanged in barter against them: silks of Ho-ch'ih [Playfair, *Cities and Towns of China*, No. 2208], porcelain, camphor, rhubarb, *huang-lien* [rhizoma of *Koptis teeta*?], cloves, camphor drops, sandalwood, cardamoms, and eagle wood.

The country of Ku-lin [Kulam, Coilom, Quilon] may be reached from Nan-p'i by ship with the monsoon in five days. It takes a Chinchew junk [*ch'üan-pe*, i.e. an ocean junk of Ch'üan-chou-fu] over forty days to arrive at Lan-li [Lambri]; there the winter is spent, and, in the following year, a further journey of a month will take her to this country. The customs of the people are, on the whole, not different from those of the Nan-p'i people. The products consist in cocoa nuts, sapanwood, and a kind of wine made of honey and sugar [*mi-t'ang*, perhaps syrup] mixed with cocoa nuts and the juice of some flower, the mixture being allowed to ferment.¹ The inhabitants are devoted to archery; when assailing the enemy {or, in battle} they wrap their hair in silken turbans. For trading purposes they use gold and silver coins; twelve silver coins are worth one

¹ This is probably the beverage known as toddy, regarding which see Yule, *Anglo-Indian Glossary*, p. 706.

gold coin.¹ The country is warm, and has no cold season. Every year ships come to this country from San-fo-ch'i [Palembang, Sumatra], Chien-pi [in Cantonese: Kam-pi, described by Chao Ju-kua as a revolting colony of San-fo-ch'i, with a warlike population, probably Malays, carrying on trade in tin, ivory, and pearls], and Chi-t'o [in Cantonese: *Kat-to*=Karta?]; and the articles they barter with are the same as in the case of Nan-p'i. The Ta-shih [Arabs] live in great numbers in this country.² Whenever they have finished taking a bath they anoint their bodies with Yü-chin [turmeric], as they wish to resemble a Buddha in the gilt appearance of his body.

17. HU-CH'A-LA [Guzerat].

The country of Hu-ch'a-la [Guzerat] rules over more than a hundred *chou* [cities]; its [main] city has a four-fold wall. The inhabitants of this country are white and clean-looking. Both men and women have double rings hanging down from holes in their ears; they wear tight clothes, and are wrapped in plain cotton cloth; they wear on their heads white hoods, and on their feet shoes of scarlet leather. They are forbidden to eat flesh. There are four

¹ The relation between gold and silver, for centuries previous to the discovery of America, was twelve to one. Cf. Yule, *Cathay*, etc., p. 442.

² Coilom is well known as a resort of trade during the Middle Ages up to the time when the Portuguese appeared with ships of deeper draught which could not anchor in its shallow harbour.--Reinaud, *Relation*, etc., p. lxxxiii. According to Reinaud's traveller Soleyman, Coilom was the starting-point in India for the journey to China. Similarly, according to Chao Ju-kua, it was the landing-place in India for those coming from China; for, while junks made the trips from Chinchew to Lambri, and thence direct to Ku-lin (Coilom), it is distinctly said that foreign ships rarely go to Nau-p'i. To arrive in Chu-lien (Orissa), as we shall see further on, the traveller hailing from China had to change ship at Ku-lin (Coilom). This seems to show that China skippers were not in the habit of visiting the coast of Coromandel.

thousand Buddhist temple buildings,¹ in which there are living over twenty thousand nuns, who, twice every day, sing hymns, while offering food to Buddha or while offering flowers. When offering flowers they bind them into bouquets with cotton thread, of which they use about three hundred catties every day. They have over four hundred war elephants and about 100,000 cavalry horses. When the king goes in or out, he rides on an elephant; on his head he wears a cap [or, crown]. His followers ride on horseback and are armed with swords. The following products are found in this country: indigo in great quantities,² red kino, myrobalans, and all kinds of foreign cloth. Every year these goods are transported to the Arabian countries for sale.

18. MA-LO-HUA [Malwa].

The country of Ma-lo-hua [Malwa] connects with Hu-ch'a-la [Guzerat]. This country has under it over sixty *chou* [cities], and it is on the land road [*i.e.* it does not lie on the sea-coast]. The manner of dressing and the local customs are the same as those of Hu-ch'a-la [Guzerat]. Of products white cloth is very common. Every year 2000 oxen, or more, laden with cloth, are sent along the land road to other countries for barter.

¹ Guzerat was famous for its many temples, most of which were situated on the south-western coast in the territory called Okamandala, which afterwards became the seat of a cruel set of pirates.—Lassen, *Ind. Alterthumsk.*, vol. i, p. 134.

² Regarding the indigo of Guzerat, see Lassen, *op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 325; and Yule, *Marco Polo*, vol. ii, p. 383.

19. CHU-LIEN [Orissa, the Empire of the Kesari Dynasty].

The country of Chu-lien¹ is the Southern India of the Western Heaven. In the east it [*i.e.* its capital, or chief city] is five *li* distant from the sea; in the west you go to Western India [*Hsi T'ien-chu*], 1500 *li*; in the south you go to *Lo-lan*, 2500 *li*; in the north you go to *Tun-t'ien*, 3000 *li*. This country has not, from olden times, carried on trade with us. By water you reach Chinchew in about 411,400, or more, *li*.² If you wish to go to this country, then you must change boat in Ku²-lin [Coilom], and thence travel there; some say that from [or, by way of] the country of P'u-kan [Pagán] you can also go there. In this country there is a city with a sevenfold wall, the wall being as high as seven Chinese feet, and extending twelve *li* from north to south, and seven *li* from east to west; the different walls are a hundred paces distant from each other. Four of these walls are built of brickwork, two of mud, and the one in the centre, of wood, and there are flowers, fruit-trees, and other trees planted [on them]. The first and second walls enclose the dwellings of the people—they are surrounded by small ditches; the third and fourth walls are for the dwellings of court officers; the fifth wall is for the dwellings of the king's four sons; within the sixth wall are the Buddhist [?] monasteries where the various priests dwell; and the seventh wall encloses over four hundred buildings forming the royal palaces where the king lives.³

¹ *Chu-lien* may be a Chinese corruption of the name *Chola*. Cf. Yule, *Anglo-Indian Glossary*, p. 199.

² There must be an error in this statement; if not, the *li* has here been confounded with a considerably smaller measure.

³ It appears that we possess an unmistakable record regarding this city in the fragments left to us of the history of the Kesari dynasty in India. It must be the ancient capital of that empire. Lassen (*op. cit.*, vol. iv, p. 6), speaking of the events recorded in the history of Orissa, describes a king Jajāti, not as the founder, but as the restorer, of the Kesari dynasty, who established his court at

There are in all thirty-two¹ divisions [*pu-lo*, 部落, possibly *pura*, cities]: of these, twelve are in the west, namely [47 characters, see below]; eight are in the south, namely [38 characters]; twelve are in the north, namely [44

the city of Djadjapura. Here he built a palace, called *Chaturdvāra*, because it had four gates. The chief event of Jajāti's reign is, according to Lassen, the establishment of the service of a deity called Djagannātha, whose image had been carried away and concealed and was then recovered. Four images of that deity, including the original one, were brought to Purī, where a new temple was erected for them. "The entire surroundings of the city," Lassen says, "were devoted to the service of Djagannātha, or Vishnu, and the maintenance of that temple; and Jajāti laid the foundation for the wealth of its priesthood. One of his successors, Lalita Indra Kesari, who ascended the throne in A.D. 617, was the founder of a large and well-defended city in the neighbourhood of the above sanctuary, which was *divided into seven quarters and contained thirty-two streets* and where the King resided" (Lassen, *l.c.*, p. 11). I am not able to say whether there is any connection between the "thirty-two streets of the city" mentioned by Lassen and the thirty-two *pu-lo*, or divisions, occurring in our text. These I would under ordinary circumstances consider to be divisions of the country, but I cannot do so in the face of Indian tradition as known to me through Lassen's account, pending an inquiry into the text forming the basis of that account of "thirty-two streets," which Lassen appears to have derived from A. Stirling's "*An Account, Geographical, Statistical, and Historical, of Orissa Proper in Cuttack*," in *As. Res.* xv, p. 269 *seqq.*, which I have not been able to look up. In the *Sung-shih* the names of two kings are mentioned who sent embassies with tribute from this country to China, viz.: in A.D. 1033, *Shih-li-to-ch'a-yin-to-lo-chu-lo*, which may stand for Sri Raja Indra Chola [or, Andhra Chola]; and again, in A.D. 1077, *Ti-ua-ka-lo*, which may stand for Dēva Kala, or Dēva Kara. The last-named king made a good bargain with his colleague on the dragon throne, since the embassy, consisting of 72 men, were given 81,800 strings of copper cash, *i.e.* about as many dollars, in return for the articles of tribute, comprising glassware, camphor, brocates [called *Kimhwa*, 錦花, in the Chinese text], rhinoceros horns, ivory, incense, rosewater, patchuck, *asa foetida*, borax, cloves, etc. This so-called embassy was probably, like most of the missions to the coast of China, nothing better than a trading expedition on joint account, the 72 ambassadors being the shareholders, or their supercargoes. It appears that the relations between China and Orissa were not resumed after this expedition, and it is very likely that Chao Ju-kua's chapter on *Chu-lien* is derived from the account of one of the travellers having reached China during the rule of the Kesari dynasty. Such an account would most probably have been placed on record by one of our author's predecessors in the office of *Shih-po*, or Superintendent of Trade, at *Ch'üan-chou*.

¹ The text says "thirty-one," but the enumeration following (12+8+12) shows them to be "thirty-two."

characters].¹ When anyone among the people is guilty

¹ It may not be quite hopeless to attempt identifying some of these names, whether they represent "streets," "divisions" (of the city, or of the country), or "cities" (*pura*). Should they prove to be names of cities, their identification would assist us in gaining some positive knowledge of the political extent of the Kesari empire. The repetition of certain groups of sounds, such as *p'u-t'ung* (twice, viz. *a*, 23, 24, and *b*, 21, 22), which may stand for *patam*, as an ending in city names, or *nung-ka-lan* (four times, viz. *b*, 36, 37, 38; *c*, 12, 13, 14; *c*, 21, 22, 23; and *c*, 42, 43, 44), which may stand for *Mangalor*, might lead to some interesting discoveries. The characters follow each other thus:—

a. In the West (12 names).			b. In the South (8 names).			c. In the North (12 names).		
1. 只	25. 故		1. 無	20. 藍		1. 撥	23. 藍	
2. 都	26. 里		2. 雅	21. 蒲		2. 羅	24. 皮	
3. 尼	27. 婆		3. 加	22. 登		3. 耶	25. 林	
4. 施	28. 輪		4. 黎	23. 蒙		4. 無	26. 伽	
5. 亞	29. 岑		5. 麻	24. 伽		5. 沒	27. 藍	
6. 盧	30. 本		6. 藍	25. 林		6. 窩	28. 蒲	
7. 尼	31. 蹄		7. 眉	26. 加		7. 江	29. 稜	
8. 羅	32. 揭		8. 古	27. 藍		8. 注	30. 和	
9. 琶	33. 蹄		9. 黎	28. 琶		9. 林	31. 藍	
10. 離	34. 閭		10. 苦	29. 里		10. 加	32. 堡	
11. 鼈	35. 黎		11. 低	30. 琶		11. 里	33. 琶	
12. 琶	36. 池		12. 舍	31. 窩		12. 蒙	34. 來	
13. 移	37. 窩		13. 里	32. 遊		13. 伽	35. 田	
14. 布	38. 那		14. 尼	33. 亞		14. 藍	36. 注	
15. 林	39. 部		15. 蜜	34. 林		15. 漆	37. 窩	
16. 琶	40. 尼		16. 多	35. 池		16. 結	38. 廬	
17. 布	41. 遮		17. 羅	36. 蒙		17. 麻	39. 婆	
18. 尼	42. 古		18. 摩	37. 伽		18. 藍	40. 囉	
19. 古	43. 林		19. 伽	38. 藍		19. 握	41. 迷	
20. 檀	44. 亞					20. 折	42. 蒙	
21. 布	45. 里					21. 蒙	43. 伽	
22. 林	46. 者					22. 伽	44. 藍	
23. 蒲	47. 林							
24. 登								

of an offence, one of the court ministers punishes him; if the offence were light, the culprit is tied up on a wooden frame and given fifty, or seventy, or up to a hundred blows with a stick; heavy crimes are visited by decapitation or by the culprit's being trampled to death by elephants. At State banquets the king salaams with his four court ministers at the palace steps, and the whole company then engages in instrumental music, hymns, and pantomimes; he eats meat, though he takes no wine, and by the native custom dresses in cotton cloth and eats flour cakes; for his table and escort he employs fully ten thousand female attendants, three thousand of whom are in waiting every day in rotation. When contracting marriage, one first sends a female go-between with a gold and silver finger ring to the bride's house. Three days afterwards there is a meeting of the bridegroom's clan to decide on the amount of land, or cattle, or betel nuts, or wine, and the like, to be given as marriage gifts; and the bride's family sends the gold or silver finger ring, Yüeh-no cloth,¹ and the brocaded clothing worn by the bride, to their [intended] son-in-law. In case the man should wish to withdraw from the engagement, he will not dare to reclaim the marriage gifts; but if the girl should wish to reject the man, then she will make double compensation for it. Since the taxes and duties of the kingdom are numerous and heavy,² travelling merchants rarely go thither. This country is at war with the countries of the Western Heaven.³ The Government possesses 60,000 war elephants, all seven or eight Chinese feet in height; when fighting, they set houses on the backs of these elephants, and the houses are full of soldiers, who shoot with arrows at long range and fight with spears at

¹ Yüeh-no cloth is frequently mentioned in mediaeval texts on Central and Western Asia. Among other places Baghdad was engaged in its manufacture (see *Die Länder d-s Ishim nach chines. Quellen*, Supplement to *T'oung-pao*, vol. v, p. 42, note 4); also in Rûm (*Lu-mei*), whatever may be meant by that name (*ibid.*, p. 48).

² This may refer to the imposts levied by Varja Kesari.—Lassen, *op. cit.*, vol. iv, p. 11.

³ This seems to show that, when this item of information was placed on record, the great conquest of North India had not taken place.

close quarters. When they are victorious, their elephants are also granted honorary names to signalize their merit. The inhabitants are hot-tempered and reckless of life; nay, in the presence of the king they will fight man to man with swords, and die without regret. Father and son, elder and younger brothers, will have their meals cooked in separate kettles and served on separate dishes; yet they are deeply alive to family duty. The following articles are produced in the country: pearls, ivory, corals, transparent glass [*po-li*], betel nuts, cardamoms, opaque glass [*lin-li*], dyed silk cloth, and cotton cloth. Of quadrupeds, they have goats and oxen; of birds, pheasants and parrots; of fruits, the *yü-kan* [a kind of mango: *Spondias amara*], the *t'eng-lo* [some kind of epidendrum; according to Parker in *China Review*, vol. xix, p. 193: Rattan], dates, cocoa nuts, the *kan-lo*, the *k'un-lun* plum, and the jack fruit; of flowers, the white jasmine [18 characters, some of which probably represent Indian, if not Persian, or Arabic, sounds¹⁾]; of grain, green and black beans, wheat, and paddy; and the bamboo is indigenous there. In former times they have not sent tribute to our court; but in the eighth year of the period Ta-chung and Hsiang-fu [A.D. 1015] the chief of the country sent an embassy with pearls and the like articles as tribute. The interpreters, in translating their speech, said that they wished to evince the respect of distant people for [Chinese] civilization. They were ordered by Imperial decree to remain in waiting at the side gate of the Palace, and be entertained with a repast by the Associates in the College of Court Annalists. By Imperial favour they were ranked with the envoys from Kuei-tzū [Kutsha in Eastern Turkestan]. It just happened to be

(1) 1 散 2 絲 3 蛇 4 臍 5 桑 6 麗 7 秋 8 青 9 黃 10 碧 11 婆 12 羅
13 瑤 14 連 15 蟬 16 紫 17 水 18 蕉. Mr. E. H. Parker, in a similar passage, transliterates the characters 11 and 12 by *solo*, which he calls "a sort of cotton" (*China Review*, vol. xix, p. 193); but the term reads *polo* ("blue, yellow, and green *polo*"), not *solo*. The character which Mr. Parker has in view is probably 娑, *so*.

the Emperor's birthday, and the envoys had a fine opportunity to witness the congratulations in the "Sacred Enclosure." In the tenth year of Hsi-ning [A.D. 1077] they sent further tribute of local produce.¹ The Emperor Shên-Tsung sent an officer of the Inner Department [a chamberlain, *nei-shih*], to bid them welcome.

The remaining countries, *Nan-ni-hua-lo*, etc., are more than one hundred in number; they are all included under the term Western Heaven.

Of the city which is called *Wang-shê* [*lit.* Royal Lodge], tradition says that, in the north of Chiao-chih [Tungking] you go to Ta-li [Ta-li-fu in Yünnan], and west of Ta-li you come to the city of Wang-shê in less than forty days' journey.² The *Huang-hua-hsi-ta-chi* ["Record of Imperial Chinese Missions to the West"] by Chia Tan³ says: "To reach T'ien-chu [India] from Annam, there is an overland road by which one may go to this country; yet Ta-mo [Dharma]⁴ came floating on the sea to P'an-yü [Canton], and we may fairly ask whether the sea journey be not more expeditious than that lengthy road overland?"

¹ Cf. the embassy mentioned in the *Sung-shih*. Note on p. 490, above.

² *Wang-shê*, *lit.* Royal Lodge. I believe that our author here confounds the city of Radjagriba, the Wang-shê of Buddhistic lore, with the new capital founded in A.D. 989 by Nirüpa Kexari and named Kutaka, the translation of which name is given as "Royal Residence." This is the same city which has given its name to the present province of Cuttack.—Lassen, *op. cit.*, vol. iv, p. 12.

³ A great geographer of the T'ang dynasty, who lived about A.D. 730 to 805. He was the author of a number of important ethnographical works, none of which appear to have come down to our days. From his biography (*T'ang-shu*, ch. 166, p. 1 *seqq.*) I conclude that he devoted considerable interest to foreign nations. He drew several maps, among others one entitled *Hai-ni-hua-yi*, i.e. "Chinese and Foreigners within the Seas"; and that this was not a mere illustration of ethnographical types, which the word *tsu* (map, drawing) often denotes, may be concluded from the remark, made in the *T'ang-shu*, that "it measured three *chang* and three *ch'ih* in breadth, and that it was drawn on the scale of 100 *li* to the inch." The geographical section of the bibliographical chapter of the *T'ang-shu* (ch. 58, p. 32) mentions under his name, besides "Ten books of Maps" (*Ti-t'u shih chüan*), the work quoted by Chao Ju-kua, with a slight variant, placing *ssü* (four) for *hsi* (west) in the title.

⁴ *Thas Lu Hui-nêng*. Cf. Rémusat, "Sur la succession des trente-trois patriarches de la religion de Bouddha," in *Mémoires Asiatiques*, i, p. 124; Lassen, *Ind. Alt.*, vol. iv, p. 660 *seq.*; Eitel, s.v. Bodhidharma; Watters, *Essays on the Chinese Language*, p. 393; Meyers, *Manual*, No. 428.

The capital of the country of *Péng-ka-lo* [Bengala] in the west is called *Ch'a-na-chi*.¹ This city is 120 *li* in circuit. The common people are combative and devoted solely to robbery. They use white cowry shells, ground into shape, as money. The country produces superior double-edged sword-blades, cotton, and other cloth. Some say that the doctrine of Buddha has originated in this country: for, when Hsüan Chuang, [the Master versed in] the Three Canons, of the T'ang dynasty, fetched the sacred books, he had come to the Western Heaven.

NAN-NI-HUA-LO [or, Southern Ni-hua-lo].²—Its city has a threefold wall; and the inhabitants, in the morning and in the evening, bathe and besmear their bodies with turmeric, thus imitating the golden colour of a Buddha. They are mostly called *Po-lo-mên* [Brahmans], as being genuine descendants of Buddha. The walls of their rooms and the mats they sit on are besmeared with cow-dung, which they look upon as a clean substance. In their houses they erect altars, three Chinese feet in height, which are ascended by three steps, and where they burn incense and offer flowers every day in the morning; this they call the sacrifice to Buddha. When the foreigners of *Tu-shih* [Arabs, Muhammadans] come to this country, they give them seats outside the doors, and lodge them in separate houses supplied with bedding and mess gear. When a married woman has been guilty of adultery she is killed, and the officials will not ask about it. The country produces first-class putchuck and fine white flowered and spotted cotton cloth. The people eat much kumiss [*su-lo*, ghee?], rice, beans, and vegetables; they will rarely eat fish or meat. The road leads to the Western Regions [*Hsi-yü*]. When there are raids made by the light horsemen from the Western Regions, all the resistance they offer is to lock

¹ In Cantonese *Ch'a-na-kat*, which may correspond to some name like Chanagar = Chandernagor? Cf. Champaganara, Lassen, *op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 175: and Sunarganu, Yule, *Cathay*, p. 465.

² An account similar to Chao Ju-kua's will be found in the letterpress, accompanying an illustration in the Chinese *Orbis Pictus San-ts'ai-t'u-hui*. It is reproduced in the *T'u-shu-chi-ch'ing*, sect. 8: 107, ch. i, p. 50.

their gates. In a few days provisions run short, and [the intruders] withdraw of their own accord.

21. T'ïEN-CHU [part of India].

The country of T'ien-chu¹ is subordinate to the country of Ta-ts'in; for the chiefs of the country are all selected by Ta-ts'in.² It is customary with the people to plait their hair, which hangs down, whereas the temples and the top of the head are covered by a silken turban. In their dwellings they use plaster in lieu of tiles. They have walled cities for the people to dwell in. The king dresses in brocaded silk, and his hair is wound into a spiral tuft

¹ The term *T'ien-chu*, usually rendered by India, has a much more limited sense in Buddhist texts than the name thus rendered would suggest. The *Hsuan-chiao-p'i-pi-n*, a well-digested Buddhist cyclopaedia of the Ming dynasty (see my notes regarding it in *T'oung-pao*, vol. vi, p. 318) says (ch. i, p. 4) that "Bangala [*Pang-ko-la*] is in the east of T'ien-chu; *Chao-no-p'ia* [Chandernagor?], in the middle; Magadha, in the south; Kapila [Buddha's birthplace in the north of Oudh; Cunningham, *The Ancient Geogr. of India*, p. 414 *seqq.*], in the west; and Gazna [*Ka-shê-na*], in the north." Chao Ju-kua probably excludes the T'ien-chu of Buddhists from his own account, which forms the first part of this chapter, and is followed by a quotation from other sources, in which T'ien-chu is taken in another sense; for *Hu-t'ien-chu*, "The Five Indies," was well known as a general term for India in the wider sense before Chao Ju-kua. "*T'ien-chu* is said to be an imitation of the sound *Sun-tu* or *Shên-tu* [Sindh], just as *T'u-fan* is said to stand for *T'u-fa* [Tibet]." I find this remark in a work published in A.D. 1175, the *Yen-fan-tu*, by Ch'êng Ta-ch'ang, a most interesting cyclopaedic collection of miscellanies and by no means the kind of work which Wylie (*Notes on Chinese Lit.*, p. 129) represents it to be.

² The only interpretation I am able to offer with regard to this remarkable statement is, that at some time or other Nestorian Bishops were regarded "chiefs of the country." With the exception of the Buddhist devotee Lo-hu-na, who called himself a native of T'ien-chu and who, as coming from T'ien-chu, or India, in the wider sense, may not be at all connected with the T'ien-chu here described, nothing occurs in this account which points to Buddhism or which strongly speaks against the assumption that Nestorians are referred to as "chiefs." I am inclined to think that Chao Ju-kua's T'ien-chu refers to the coast of Madras, the legendary burial-place of St. Thomas (see Yule, *Marco Polo*, vol. ii, p. 342 *seqq.*), to which should be added the adjoining territory described by Marco Polo as the kingdom of Mutfli. Chao Ju-kua's T'ien-chu produces diamonds: of these Marco Polo says (Yule, vol. ii, p. 347) that "no other country but this kingdom of Mutfli produces them." Possibly the pieces of tale referred to in the Chinese text as looking like silken gauze have some connection with Polo's "delicate buckrams" which look "like tissue of spider's web." Whether a bishop, or some other church authority, was in charge of the St. Thomas Christians, it is most probable that he took his appointment from the Nestorian patriarch as the ecclesiastical "King of Ta-ts'in." Cf. *China and the Roman Orient*, p. 284 *seqq.*

on the top of his head, the remaining hair being cut short. When holding court in the morning he sits on a skin of the Têng [explained as the name of an animal in a gloss of our text, the native dictionaries affording no clue in this matter], adorned with representations of various objects painted with red wax; and his courtiers all do him reverence and pray for his life. When going out he rides on horseback, and his saddle and bridle are thickly set with dark gold [*wu-chin*, whatever metal this may have been] and silver. His followers, three hundred in number, are armed with spears and swords. His consort wears a gold embroidered scarlet dress with large sleeves. Once in a year she shows herself in public, when a considerable bounty is given to the poor. In the country there is the sacred water which can still wind and waves. The foreign merchants fill glass bottles with it, and when they suddenly get into a rough sea, they still it by sprinkling out this water.¹ It is said that,² during the reign of Hsüan-wu of the Posterior Wei dynasty [A.D. 500-515], T'ien-chu sent envoys offering large horses. This country produces lions, sables, leopards, camels, rhinoceroses, elephants, tortoise shell, gold, copper, iron, lead, and tin; golden rugs made by weaving gold threads, white cotton cloth, and *ta-têng* [rugs?]. There is a stone like talc, but of a reddish colour; when split it is as thin as a cicada's wing; when put together, these pieces look like silken gauze. They have diamonds, resembling fluor spar, which will not melt though a hundred times exposed to the fire; they cut jadestone. There are, further, sandalwood and the like incenses, sugar-cane, sugar-candy [*shih-mi*],³ and all kinds of fruit. They

¹ I am strongly tempted to here suspect an allusion to the use of consecrated water (*aqua lustralis*), known to the ancient Christians long before the existence of Roman Catholicism.

² The entire passage following down to the words "*they cut jadestone*" appears with almost the same reading in the *T'ung-tien*, a work of the eighth century A.D. Altogether Chao Ju-kua's accounts of Ta-t'ien and T'ien-chu are blended with matter occurring in older texts, to which fact the authors of the great Catalogue of the Peking Imperial Library have drawn attention.

³ "Sucre cristallisé." This is the translation adopted by Julien for the term *shih-mi* (*lit.* "stone honey," "petrified honey") on the strength of a definition,

have trade once every year with Ta-ts'in and Fu-nan [Siam]; they use cowries as a means of exchange. They are clever in jugglery, and know the use of bows and arrows, armour, spears, flying ladders, and mining underground ways [or, tunnels], and also the contrivances of "the wooden ox" and "the gliding horse" [*mu-niu-liu-mu*]¹; yet, they are cowards in battle. They are good astronomers and chronographers, and understand the "Siddham Rule Books"² . . . [a gap of seven characters follows here in the text, though no gap is mentioned in the corresponding paragraph of the *T'ung-tien*]. They make paper of the leaves of the Pei-to [Patra] tree. During the periods Chêng-kuan [A.D.

derived apparently from the ancient work *I-uv-chih* (*P'ei-wei-yün-fu*, ch. xciii, p. 72). The *I-uv-chih* says: "The juice pressed out of the sugar-cane produced in Chiaochih [Tungking] is like *i-hsing* ["sweet cakes"], and is called *t'ang* [i.e. sugar]; when further boiled and exposed to the sun, it may be broken up like bricks, after it has coagulated and crystallized. To eat it, you take it into your mouth and dissolve it. At the time people called it *shih-mi*." This name *shih-mi* occurs as early as the *Hou-han-shu*, in the description of India, which involves that sugar-candy was known there during the first centuries of our era. The *Hsi-ching-tsa-chi*, a record of events at the Western capital during the Han dynasty, even mentions that the king of Nan-yüeh presented the emperor Kao-ti [n.c. 206-194] with *shih-mi* (see *P'ei-wei-yün-fu*, l.c.). Regarding Sugar and Sugar-cane in ancient India, see Lassen, *op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 317 seq.

¹ "The Wooden Ox" and "the Gliding Horse," according to the *San-kuo-chih* (Chu, ch. v, pp. 13 and 15), were contrivances facilitating the transport of provisions invented by the great hero of the third century, Chu-ko Liang. The Chinese attach great value to these inventions, a detailed description of which has been preserved by the scholiast commenting on the passage referred to. I am not able, from a cursory perusal of it, to form a clear idea as to how they were constructed and how they worked.

² *Hsi-tan chang-shu*. According to Julien (Hiouen-Tsang, iii, p. 527), the first chapters of a syllabary in twelve chapters attributed to Brahma. Cf. Eitel, *Handbook for the Student of Chin. Buddh.*, s.v. Siddha Vastu. Watters, "The Shadows of a Pilgrim," in *China Review*, vol. xix, p. 220, shows it to be the beginning of a child's primer, or A B C, the first chapter of which was headed by the word *Siddham*, forming an auspicious invocation. This may be the primary meaning and would be the orthodox interpretation according to the traditional explanation of this term as found in Buddhist glossaries. Since a gap appears in the text following it, we cannot easily decide what the author was going to say. His speaking of the astronomical achievements of the Hindus, however, seems to suggest that by the term *Hsi-tan* (=Siddhanta) the astronomical literature is referred to. Alberuni (Sachau, vol. i, p. 153) says: "The book known among Muslims as *Sindhind* is called by them *Siddhanta*, i.e. straight, not crooked nor changing. By this name they call every standard book on astronomy, even such books as, according to our opinion, do not come up to the mark of our so-called *Zij*, i.e. handbooks of mathematical astronomy. They have five *Siddhantas*," etc. Lassen (*op. cit.*, vol. iv, p. 621) calls the *Siddhanta* "ein Lehrbuch, in dem ein wissenschaftliches System durch Gründe bewiesen wird, besonders ein astronomisches."

627-650] and T'ien-shou [A.D. 690-692] of the T'ang dynasty they have sent envoys with tribute. At the time of Yung-hsi [A.D. 984-988], a Buddhist devotee, by name Lo-hu-na, arrived here by sea; he called himself a native of T'ien-chu [India]. The foreign merchants [*fan-shang*, who must have been Buddhists; possibly Chinese merchants trading to foreign countries, if not Indians, Ceylonese, etc., since Muhammadans would not build a Buddhist temple], considering him a foreign priest [*hu-sêng*], vied with each other in presenting him with gold, silks, jewels, and precious stones; but the devotee was not in want of these himself. He invested the presents thus received in the purchase of a piece of ground, on which he built a Buddhist temple; it stood in the southern suburb of Ch'üan [Chinchew], and the present Pao-liu-yüan [Monastery] is identical with it.

(b) *Extracts from Part II: ARTICLES OF TRADE.*

1. CAMPHOR.

Camphor comes from P'u-ni [Brni, Borneo], according to some Fo-ni; it also comes from the country of Pin-su.¹

¹ *Pin-su*, in Cantonese *Pan-sók*, the latter form representing the sound *Pansok*; for, since I had shown ("Chinese Equivalents of the letter R in foreign names" in *Journ. of the China Br. Roy. As. Soc.*, vol. xxi, p. 220) that final *n* and final *t* were employed in Ancient Chinese transcriptions to represent final *r* in foreign names, M. Terrien de Lacouperie added *k* and *p* to the number of Chinese finals which can take the place of final *r* (see "The Djurtchen of Mandshuria" in *Journ. Roy. As. Soc.*, Vol. XXI, p. 442). Although this name *Pansor* is not mentioned anywhere else by our author, I do not hesitate to identify it with the country distinctly described as a producer of camphor under the name *Fansur* by Arab and other mediaeval writers. "The camphor *al-fansuri* is mentioned as early as by Avicenna, and by Marco Polo, and came from a place called *Pansir* in Sumatra, perhaps the same as Barus, which has now long given its name to the costly Sumatra drug."—Yule, *Anglo-Indian Glossary*, p. 116. The name *Pansir* is first mentioned by Mas'ûdi (about A.D. 940) and Abu Seyd (Reinaud, *Relation*, etc., vol. i, p. 7: *fansur*). Marco Polo describes a kingdom of *Fansur* which produces camphor. Chao Ju-kua was apparently not aware that this country of Pin-su (*Fansur*, or *Fansur*) and his San-fo-ch'i were situated on the same island; and he may be correct, in a certain sense, in maintaining that in San-fo-ch'i (Palembang) itself the drug was not produced, but merely imported for re-shipment. This passage need not, therefore, involve the exclusion of the camphor industry from Sumatra. Regarding the *Fansur* question and its literature, see Yule, *Marco Polo*, vol. ii, p. 255 *seqq.*

The common report that it is also found in San-fo-ch'i [Palembang, Sumatra] is an error; the fact is merely this—that, owing to this country being an important thoroughfare for the traffic of all foreign nations, the produce of all other countries is intercepted and kept in store there for trade with foreign ships. The camphor-tree is like the pine-tree [*shan*]; it grows in the depths of the hills and the remotest valleys. So long as branches and trunk continue unhurt, the tree will contain the resin even for hundreds and thousands of years; otherwise it will evaporate. When the natives enter the hills, in order to gather the camphor, they must go in troops of several tens of men; they are provided with clothes made of trees' bark [or, fibre] and supplies of *sha-hu* [Sago] for grain. They go in different directions, and whenever they meet any camphor-trees, they fell with a hatchet and mark as many as ten, or more; they then cut these into lengths and distribute them equally, and each cuts into planks his share; these boards, again, they crack along the side and cross-wise so as to produce chinks, and the camphor collecting in these chinks is got out by forcing a wedge into them. The camphor which forms crystals is called *Mei-hua-nao* [*lit.* Plum Flower Camphor], because it resembles the plum flower; an inferior quality is called *Chin-ch'iao-nao* [*lit.* Gold Foot Camphor]; broken bits are called *Mi-nao* [*lit.* Rice-grain Camphor]; when these are mixed up with splinters, it is called *Ts'ang-nao* [*lit.* Granary Camphor]; the wooden boards, after all the camphor has been removed from them, are called *Nao-cha* [*lit.* Camphor Slips]. Nowadays people break these boards into small bits and mix them with sawdust, which mixture they place in a vessel of porcelain, covered by another vessel, the openings being hermetically closed; when roasted in hot ashes, the vapour formed by the mixture condenses and forms lumps, which are called *Chü-nao* [*lit.* Collected Camphor]; it is used for women's head ornaments and the like purposes. There is further an oily sort of camphor called *Nao-yu* [*lit.* Camphor Oil], which is of a strong

and stringent aroma; but it will do for moistening incense, or mixing with oil.

2. FRANKINCENSE.

Ju-hsiang [Gum Olibanum], also called Hsün-lu-hsiang,¹ is produced in the three Ta-shih [Arabian] countries of Ma-lo-pa [Merbot], Shih-ho [Sheher], and Nu-fa [Dhofar],² in the depths of the remotest mountain valleys. The tree which yields this drug may on the whole be compared to the Yung [Banian]³. Its trunk is chopped with a hatchet, upon which the resin flows out, and when hardened, turns into incense, which is gathered and made into lumps. It is transported on elephants to the Ta-shih [Arabs]; the Ta-shih [Arabs] load it upon their ships for barter against other goods in San-fo-ch'i [Palembang, Sumatra]; and it is for this reason that the incense is commonly collected at San-fo-ch'i. When the foreign merchants come to that place to trade, the Customs authorities, in accordance with the relative strength of its fragrance, distinguish thirteen classes of incense. Of these, the very best is called *Chien-hsiang*, or "Picked Incense": it is round and of the size of the top of a finger; which is commonly called *Ti-ju* [*lit.* "Dripping Milk," "Dripping Incense"]. The second quality is called *P'ing-ju* [*lit.* "Potted Milk"], and its colour is inferior to that of the "Picked Incense." The next quality is called *P'ing-hsiang* [*lit.* "Potted Incense"]; they say, because, owing to its being prized so much at the time of gathering, it is placed in pots [vases, or jars—*p'ing*].

¹ This word *Hsün-lu* [old sound: *han-luk*] I look upon as the Chinese equivalent of Turkish *ghyunluk*, "frankincense," though I am not prepared to say whether the Chinese have got this word from the Turks, or *vice versa*. Cf. *China and the Roman Orient*, p. 266 *seq.*

² Regarding the identification of these three names, see my *Die Länder des Islām*, etc., p. 21, note 3, and p. 27 note 1; also Professor de Goeje's remarks on p. 58.

³ From a passage in the *Hsiang-p'u*, a later work on incenses, where the same sense is reproduced in almost identical words, I conclude that *yung* (Banian) is a misprint for *sung* (a pine-tree), the two characters being easily confounded. The passage referred to is quoted in the *Pên-ts'ao-kung-mu*, ch. xxxiv, p. 48.

Of this last kind three further qualities, viz, superior, middling, and inferior, are distinguished. The next quality is called *Tai-hsiang* [lit. "Bag Incense"]; they say, because, at the time of gathering, it is merely put into bags; it is also divided into three qualities, like the *P'ing-hsiang*. The next kind is the *Ju-t'a*, because it consists of incense mixed with gravel. The next kind is the *Hei-t'a*, because its colour is black. The next kind is the *Shui-shih-hei-t'a*, because it consists of incense which has been water-damaged while on board ship, the aroma having turned and the colour having spoiled. Incense mixed of various qualities and consisting of broken pieces is called *Ch'é-hsiao* [lit. "Cut-up"]; when passed through a sieve and thus made into dust, it is called *Ch'an-mo* [i.e. "Dust"]. The above are the differences in the incense.

3. MYRRH.

Mo-yao [Myrrh]¹ comes from the country of Ma-lo-mo [probably another transcription for Merbot] in Ta-shih [Arabia]. The tree resembles in height and size the pine-tree [*sung*] of China; its bark is one or two inches thick. At the time of gathering the incense, they first dig a hole in the ground at the foot of the tree, and then cut the bark open with a hatchet, upon which the juice runs down into the hole for fully ten days, when it is taken.

4. DRAGON'S BLOOD.

Hsüeh-chieh [Dragon's Blood] also comes from the Ta-shih [Arabian] countries.² This tree is somewhat like the myrrh-

¹ *Mo-yao*, lit. Mo Medicine. The word *mo*, pronounced *mât* in Cantonese, is a transcription for Arabic *mur*, myrrh.

² According to Part I, from the country of Chung-li, some Arab colony on the east coast of Africa. Cf. *Die Länder des Islâm*, etc., p. 39. I had endeavoured to identify this country with that of the Somali as adjoining Berbera (*Pi-pa-lo*); but Prof. de Goeje may be right in suggesting Socotra as the producer of Dragon's Blood. Probably the name Chung-li embraces the Somali coast with Socotra, the term *shan*, which I first translated by *Gebirge*, referring to an island here.

tree, except that its leaves are rather different in size from those of the latter; the manner of gathering is also alike. There is a kind which is smooth like the surface of a mirror; in this case the tree is old, so that the juice flows out spontaneously, without being touched by the hatchet; this is the best quality. Incense which contains an admixture of bits of wood is made of the juice of the lakawood-tree, and is commonly called "Imitation Dragon's Blood."

6. DAMMAR.

Tu-nao-hsiang [dhuna, Dammar] comes from the country of Chên-la [Kambodja]: it is the exsudation of a tree which resembles the pine and juniper family in shape; but the incense lies concealed in the bark. When the tree is old, it runs out spontaneously, as a white and lustrous resin, which just for this reason does not melt, though the summer heat may be at its height, and which is called the *tu-nao* [dhuna]. If, in the summer months, the trunk of the tree be scorched by a fire kept burning around it, this will cause the fluid resin again to flow out freely, so that it may be gathered during the winter, when it hardens; for, *this* incense is liquid in the summer, and hardens during the winter; it is called "black *tu-nao*." The natives fill with it gourds [*p'iao*], and the shippers afterwards transfer it into porcelain vessels. The flavour of this incense is pure and lasting; the black variety easily melts and leaks through the gourd; but by breaking the gourd and exposing it to the fire, one may obtain something similar to the original substance. This is the article now called *Tu-nao-p'iao*.

23. THE COCOA NUT.

The appearance of the Cocoa Nut [*yeh-tzü*], as regards trunk and leaves, resembles that of the *Tsung* [the *Chamaerops Fortunei*, Lindl., known as the Chinese Coir-tree] and *Areca*.

Palms. The fruit grows on the leaf in bunches of several nuts of the size of a vessel holding five pints [*shéng*]. It is the biggest of fruits, with the sole exception of the Jack Fruit. When cut the outer skin is at first green and tender, but after some time it turns yellow, and when kept a long time the skin shrivels and dries up. The nut shell contained in the outer skin can be made into vessels; the pulp inside the shell is of a jadelike white, and of an agreeable taste, resembling that of cow's milk. The juice [*lit.* wine] inside the pulp is extremely clear and fragrant when fresh; but when old, it turns muddy and is no longer drinkable. In the states of Nan-p'i [Malabar] they make wine [toddy] out of the juice of its flower mixed with honey and sugar.

30. PEPPER.

Pepper comes from the following places in Shê-p'ó [Java], viz.: Su-chi-tan [Sukitan, East Java], Ta-pan [Tuban], Pai-hua-yüan [Pajajaran?], Ma-tung [Madang?], and Jung-ya-lu [Jangola]; but the pepper coming from Hsin-t'ó [Sunda] is the best; the Ta-pan [Tuban] variety takes the second place. Pepper grows in the uncultivated wilds, and the villages in the country [here the text is interrupted] the Chinese vine grape. The natives grow it on frames made of bamboo or other wood. [Here the text is again interrupted.] The flower opens . . . [probably in the season specified in the preceding gap], and in the fourth moon the fruit ripens. The flower resembles the tail of a phoenix [*fêng-wei*, probably the flower so-called], and is blue and red in colour. The grains are gathered in the fifth moon [about June], dried in the sun, and stored in godowns, whence they are given out in the following year, carts drawn by oxen being used to transport them to the place of barter. The grain cannot stand the sun, but will endure rain; therefore, crops are but poor after dry weather, whereas heavy rainfalls may double the ordinary

size of the harvest. Some say that most of the pepper is grown in the country of Wu-li-pa [in Cantonese *Mā-li-pat* = Malabar], in Nan-p'i, and that the produce bought by the foreign traders in Shê-p'ô [Java] comes from Wu-li-pa [Malabar].¹

32. ASA FOETIDA.

Asa Foetida [*a-wei*] comes from the country of Mu-chü-lan [in Cantonese *Muk-kü-lam* = Mekram], in Ta-shih [Arabia]. The tree is not a very high or large one, but the resin exsudes freely from its bark. The natives wind a piece of string round a twig, remove its tip, and cover it with a bamboo tube, which fills with resin. This bamboo tube is broken up in the winter, when the resin is gathered and packed in skin bags. Some say that this resin is so poisonous that people do not dare to come near it themselves, but, when the drug has to be gathered, tie a sheep up at the foot of the tree and shoot arrows at the latter from a distance. The poison of the resin then drops upon the sheep, which dies of it, and its decayed flesh turns into Asa foetida. I do not know which of the two accounts is correct; meanwhile they are here both placed on record.

¹ The last paragraph is added to the text in two rows of small characters, and may possibly be a gloss added by another hand. It is certainly remarkable that Chao Ju-kua omits pepper among the products of Nan-p'i. In his description of Shê-p'ô, on the other hand, pepper appears named among other products, besides a special note, which says: "There is vast store of pepper of these foreign countries, and the merchant ships, from the manifold profit they derive from that trade, are in the habit of smuggling copper cash for bartering purposes. Our Court has repeatedly interdicted all trade [with Shê-p'ô, Java]; but foreign merchants deceitfully changed its name into that of Sukitan." Under the head of "Sukitan" our author says: "Pepper grows there in great abundance. In the proper season and in good years twenty-five taels of trade silver will buy from ten to twenty packages of pepper, each package holding fifty pecks [*shêng*, equal to about an English pint]; in years of dearth, or in times of disturbance, the same sum will fetch only half that amount. The pepper-gatherers suffer much from the acrid fumes they have to inhale and are commonly afflicted with headache [malaria?], which will yield to doses of the Hsüung medicine of Szachuen [*Ch'uan-hsüung*, a species of *Levisticum*, also mentioned among the Chinese articles imported in Shê-p'ô, or Java]." Under Hsin-t'ô [Suuda] we learn that "the pepper produced in the hills is small-grained, but heavy, and superior to that of Ta-p'an [Tuban]."

42. KINGFISHERS' FEATHERS.

Kingfishers' Feathers are got in great quantities in Chên-la [Kambodja], where they are produced in nests built by the side of lakes [or, ponds] in the depth of the hills. Each pool [pond, gully, etc.] serves as an abode for just a male and a female bird; the intrusion of a third bird always ends in a duel to the death. The natives take advantage of this peculiarity, rear a decoy bird, and walk about with it sitting on the left hand raised. The birds in their nests, on noticing the intruder, make for the hand and fight it, quite ignoring the presence of the man, who, with his right hand, covers them with a net and thus makes them prisoners without fail. The river Ku in Yung-chow¹ is the habitat of a bird called *Jung-ts'ui* [lit. "the downy Kingfisher"], covered with a down of blue feathers all over the back, which is used by luxurious people as an ornament, the feathers being twisted and woven into each other so as to resemble wool satin. Although, of late years, the use of this luxury has been strictly forbidden by the mandarins, the better classes still continue to add it to their dress, for which reason the foreign merchants, defying the law, mostly smuggle it by concealing it in the cotton lining of their clothes.²

¹ *Yung-chow Ku-chiang*. Yung-chow is the name used during the T'ang and Sung dynasties for the present prefecture of Nan-ning in Kuangsi (Playfair, *Cities and Towns of China*, Nos. 5116 and 3076). The Ku River is a tributary of the Yü-chiang, the navigable southern affluent of the West River, or Sikiang, which had been mistaken for the West River itself by Mr. Michael Moss in his "Narrative" of an expedition on that river, as I have shown in a paper on "The West River, or Sikiang" in vol. iii (1874) of the *China Review*. The Ku River is described as flowing ten li east of the Nan-ning city (*Nan-ning-fu-chih*, quoted in the *T'u-shu-chi-ch'êng*, sect. 6, ch. 1242).

² The *Sung-shih*, in its chapter on official dress (ch. 163, p. 10), contains a list of dress materials presented to the various grades of higher officials by the emperor. In the year A.D. 963, according to this list, officials of certain grades, among which the *huang-ch'in chu-sü fu-shih*, i.e. the Imperial Commissioners and Assistant-Commissioners related to the Imperial family, are included, were to be presented each with a "fine brocade of kingfishers' feathers." Our author, being one of the class concerned in this bounty, is sure to have been well informed on whatever regulations were connected with it. It is, therefore, of some importance to know that, in the year A.D. 1107, this liberality was stopped by the Emperor Hui Tsung as far as Kingfishers' feathers were

concerned. "The ancient rulers," the Emperor says, alluding no doubt to the famous example set by King T'ang, the founder of the Shang dynasty, "in their government measures, extended the principle of humanity to plants, trees, birds, and beasts: now the depriving of living creatures of their life, in order to obtain their plumage for quite an unnecessary purpose, is certainly not worthy of the kindness extended by the early rulers to all creatures. I, therefore, order the officials to stop the practice on pain of punishment." (*Sung-shih*, *l.c.*, p. 16.) This is an early instance of a movement, which has been resumed in our days by the societies for the prevention of cruelty to animals in condemning the practice of adorning ladies' bonnets with the plumage of birds killed for the purpose.

ART. XIII. — *The Army of the Indian Moghuls: Its Organization and Administration.* By WILLIAM IRVINE, late Bengal Civil Service.

IN 1894 I began the preparatory studies for an account of the later Indian Moghul system of government and administration in all its branches, being impelled by the belief that some information of the kind was a necessary introduction to a History of that period, which I had previously planned and commenced. Before I had done more than sketch out my first part, which deals with the Sovereign, the Court Ceremonial, and the elaborate system of Entitlature, I noticed the issue of a book on a part of my subject by Dr. Paul Horn.¹ The perusal of this excellent work diverted my attention to a later section of my proposed Introduction, the subject of the Army and Army Organization; and in this way I have been led to write this portion before any of the others. Except incidentally, my paper is neither a translation nor a review of Dr. Horn's essay; and though indebted to him, as acknowledged from time to time, my study covers, in the main, quite different ground, forming a complement to what he has done, and, as I think, carrying the subject a good deal farther in several directions. Dr. Horn seems to have read chiefly the authorities for the period before Aurangzeb 'Ālamgīr; while my reading has been confined in great measure to the reigns of Aurangzeb's successors in the period 1707-1803. The sources upon which we draw are thus almost entirely independent of each other; and I hope that my contribution to this rather obscure corner of Indian

¹ "Das Heer- und Kriegswesen der Gross-Moghuls," by Dr. Paul Horn, Privat-Dozent an der Universität Strassburg, 8vo, pp. 160. (E. J. Brill: Leiden, 1894.)

history may not be thought inferior in interest to that of my predecessor. The paper which follows gives the first eight of the twenty-five sections into which I have divided my subject.

II. COMMISSIONED RANK AND MODE OF RECRUITING.

Few soldiers were entertained directly by the emperor himself; and for the most part the men entered first the service of some chief or leader. These chiefs were ranked according to the number of men that they had raised or were expected to raise. In this way originated the system of *manṣab*, first introduced by Akbar (*Āīn*, i, 237). This mode of recruiting the army through the officers, renders it necessary to begin by a statement of the manner in which the officers themselves were appointed and graded.

Manṣab was not a term confined solely to the military service; every man in State employ above the position of a common soldier or messenger, whatever the nature of his duties, civil or military, obtained a *manṣab*. In fact, there were for all grades, except the very lowest, only two modes of obtaining support from State funds: a man must either enter its active service, as the holder of a *manṣab*, or he must petition for a *madad-i-mu'āsh* (literally, "help to live"), on the ground of being a student of the holy books, an attendant on a mosque (*mutawallī* or *khādim*), a man of learning and religious life (*darvesh*), a local judge (*kāẓī*), or an expounder of the Mahomedan law (*muftī*).

The word *manṣab* is literally (*Dastūr-ul-Inshā*, p. 233) "the place where anything is put or erected" (*naṣb kardan*, to place, fix, appoint); and then, as a secondary meaning, the state or condition of holding a place, dignity, or office. It seems to have been in use in Central Asia before the Moghuls descended into Hindūstān; and Ross translates it by the vaguer term "privileges."—*Tārīkh-i-Rashidī*, 103. This word *manṣab* I represent by the word *rank*, as its object was to settle precedence and fix gradation of pay; it did not

necessarily imply the exercise of any particular office, and meant nothing beyond the fact that the holder was in the employment of the State, and bound in return to yield certain services when called upon.

The highest *manṣab* that could be held by a subject, not of the royal house, was that of commander of 7000 men, though in the later and more degenerate times we find a few instances of promotion to 8000 or even 9000. The *manṣab* of a prince ranged from 7000 up to 50,000; and even higher (*Mirāt-ul-Istilāḥ*, fol. 35). In the *Āḥn-i-Akbarī* (Blochmann, 248, 249) sixty-six grades are stated, beginning at commanders of 10,000, and ending at those set over ten men. Even at that earlier period there seem to have been only thirty-three of these grades in actual existence (Blochmann, 238). All the later authorities agree in holding that the lowest officer's *manṣab* was that of twenty men; and these writers record, I find, no more than twenty-seven grades, beginning with that of 7000 and ending with that of twenty. In the earlier days of the dynasty, rank was granted with a niggard hand. In Akbar's time the highest rank was for long that of 5000, and it was only towards the end of his reign that a few men were promoted to 7000, while many officers exercised important commands although holding a comparatively low *manṣab*. The great accession of territory in the Dakhin and the incessant wars connected with these acquisitions may account in part for the increase in the number and amount of *manṣabs* granted by Shāhjahān and 'Ālamgīr. But the relative value of rank was thereby much depreciated; and the author of the *Ma'āsir-ul-Umarā* (i, 8), while considering Akbar's officers of 500 rank of sufficient importance to deserve separate biographies, contents himself in the later reigns with going no lower than those of 7000 or 5000; men below those ranks being too numerous and too insignificant to call for detailed mention.

The steps of promotion altered as the officer rose in grade. The usual gradation was as follows (*Mirāt*, B.M. 1813, fol. 35; *Dastūr-ul-'Aml*, B.M. 1641, fol. 44b):—

From	20 to 100	each rise was by	20
„	100 to 400	„	50
„	400 to 1000	„	100
„	1000 to 4000	„	500
„	4000 to 7000	„	1000

There is a slight discrepancy between this table and the facts as we find them in practice. It ought to be amended thus:—

From	20 to 60	a man rose by	10 each time
„	60 to 100	„	20

Otherwise we should exclude the rank of 50, which was common enough. Again, we find in many tables no ranks of 250 or 350, although both of these are required to accord with the above scheme of promotion.

We also find mention in the historians of ranks which do not appear in the above scheme of grades. For instance, in Dānīshmand Khān's *Bahādur Shāhnāmāh* (fol. 41b, 56a) we find men appointed to 1200 and 2900, grades which do not fit in with the scheme given above, nor do these grades appear in the pay-table, copied from the official manuals, which we give a little further on.

As an additional distinction, it was the custom to tack on to a *manṣab* a number of extra horsemen. To distinguish between the two kinds of rank, the original *manṣab*, which governed the personal allowances, was known as the *ẓāt* rank (*ẓāt*=body, person, self), and the additional men were designated by the word *sucār* (=horseman). Thus a man would be styled "2500 *ẓāt*, 1000 *sucār*." It is said (*Mīrāt*, fol. 35) that men below 500 never had *sucār* added to their rank; but this is not borne out by what we find in actual practice. For instance, Mīrzā Muḥammad (*Taẓkirah*, I.O.L. No. 50, fol. 96a) was in Rabī' II, 1119 H., made 400, 50 horse, and his younger brother 300, 30 horse. There are also instances in Dānīshmand Khān of 150, 50 horse; 300, 10 horse; 300, 20 horse; 300, 80 horse; 400, 40 horse; and so on. In fact, unless this had been the case, it would be impossible to divide the ranks below 500 into

first, second, and third grade, as was actually done. This division into grades we now proceed to describe.

On the distribution of rank into *zāt* and *suvār* was founded a classification into first, second, and third class *manṣabs*, by which the scale of *zāt* pay was reduced proportionately. From this classification were exempted officers above 5000 *zāt*; these were all of one class. From 5000 downwards, an officer was First Class, if his rank in *zāt* and *suvār* were equal; Second Class, if his *suvār* was half his *zāt* rank; Third Class, if the *suvār* were less than half the *zāt*, or there were no *suvār* at all (*Dastūr-ul-Inshā*, 222). I think that here Blochmann (*Ā'in*, i, 238, lines 5 and foll.) obscures the subject by using "contingent" as the equivalent of *suvār*, instead of leaving the untranslated original word to express a technical meaning.

Pay was reckoned in a money of account called a *dām*, of which forty went to the rupee. There were also coins called *dām*; but the *dāms* of account, bearing a fixed ratio to the rupee, must be distinguished as a different thing from the coin, though called by the same name. Here Dr. Horn, 16, is of opinion that the reckoning was made in such a small unit as the $\frac{1}{40}$ of a rupee, less to make a grand show with big figures than because the value of the rupee varied. On this head I am of exactly the opposite opinion, for I think that the principal, if not the only object, was to swell the totals and make the pay sound bigger than it really was. That spirit runs through everything done in the East, at any rate in the Indian portion of it, as could easily be shown were it worth while to labour the point further. As for the second reason, I have considered it as well as I am able, not being a currency expert; and it seems to me that with a fixed ratio between the two coins, it was a matter of indifference to the receiver of pay whether the amount was stated in the one or in the other unit of value. The two units being tied together by the fixed ratio, and the disbursements being in fact made (as we know) in rupees, the payee suffered, or did not suffer, equally by either mode of calculation.

In the following table, which shows all the *manṣabs* with their pay according to class, I have reduced the *dām* to rupees, as being simpler and more readily intelligible. In the present day, this reckoning by *dāms* has quite disappeared. When reading this table of pay, which shows the sanctioned allowances for a year of twelve months, it must be remembered that few of the officers received the whole twelve-months' pay, the number of months' pay sanctioned per annum ranging from four to twelve. Officers were also supposed to keep up an establishment of elephants and draught cattle. Apparently they were also liable to pay a fixed quota of their own allowances towards the expenses of the Emperor's elephants and cattle, an item known as *khūrāk-i-dawābb*, feed of four-footed animals. There were other petty deductions.

TABLE OF *MANṢAB-I-ZĀT* WITH YEARLY PAY IN RUPEES.

	RANK (<i>Manṣab-i-zāt</i>).	YEARLY PAY IN RUPEES.		
		First Class.	Second Class.	Third Class.
1	7000	350,000	—	—
2	6000	300,000	—	—
3	5000	250,000	242,500	235,000
4	4500	225,000	217,500	210,000
5	4000	200,000	192,500	185,000
6	3500	175,000	167,500	160,000
7	3000	150,000	142,500	135,000
8	2500	125,000	117,500	110,000
9	2000	100,000	92,500	85,000
10	1500	75,000	67,500	60,000
11	1000	50,000	47,500	45,000
12	900	37,500	36,250	35,000
13	800	31,250	30,000	28,750
14	700	27,500	26,250	25,000
15	600	23,750	22,500	21,250
16	500	20,000	18,750	17,500
17	400	12,500	12,000	11,500
18	300	10,000	9500	9000
19	200	7500	7000	6500
20	150	6250	5750	5250
21	100	5000	4500	4000
22	80	3500	3250	3000
23	60	2500	2375	2150
24	50	2125	2000	1875
25	40	1750	1625	1500
26	30	1375	1250	1125
27	20	1000	875	750

(*Dastūr-ul-ʿAml*, B.M. No. 1641, fol. 44b, *id.* B.M. No. 1690, fol. 173b, *Dastūr-ul-Inshā*, p. 234.) The rates of pay in Akbar's reign, as given in the last column of Blochmann's table (*Āīn*, i, 248), were much higher than the above, which refers to 'Ālamgīr's time and later. It will be noticed that the difference of pay between first, second, and third class is as follows:—

From 20 to 60	5,000	<i>Dām</i> , or Rs. 125 yearly.
For 80	10,000	„ „ 250 „
From 100 to 400	20,000	„ „ 500 „
For 1000	100,000	„ „ 2500 „
From 1500 to 5000	300,000	„ „ 7500 „

(B.M. 6599, fol. 144b).

In addition to the simple division by *manṣab* alone, there was also a grouping of officers into three classes. From 20 to 400 they were merely "officers with rank" (*manṣab-dār*); from 500 to 2500 they were Nobles—Blochmann, i, 535 (*Amīr*, pl. *Umarā*, origin of our form "Omrah"); from 3000 to 7000 they were Great Nobles (*Amīr-i-Aʿẓam*, pl. *ʿUẓẓām*, *Umarā-i-kibār* (Blochmann, i, 529, note), or Pillars (*ʿUmdah*). All *manṣabdārs* were kept on one or other of two lists: (1) *Hāẓir-i-rikāl*, present at Court; (2) *Taʿīnāt*, on duty elsewhere.

Suwār Rank.—The grant of *suwār* in addition to *ẓāt* rank was an honour. Dr. Paul Horn, 15, supposes, however, that these horsemen were paid out of the *ẓāt* allowances. In that case a man who had no *suwār* would be better paid than another who was honoured with the addition of *suwār* to his *ẓāt* rank. Naturally Dr. Horn, 16, holds that this "eigentlich nicht recht glaublich ist." He is quite right in his conjecture. The explanation is, that the table of pay in Blochmann, i, 248, and that given above, are exclusively for the *ẓāt* rank, from which money the officer had to maintain his transport, his household, and some horsemen. For the *suwār* rank there was a separate table, pay for these horsemen being disbursed under the name of

the *Tābinān*. As Orme says ("Hist. Frag.," 418), the officer raising the troops was responsible for the behaviour of his men; he therefore brought men of his own family or such as he could depend on.

Tābinān.—Blochmann, i, 242, note 1, who, apparently, translates this word as well as *suwār* by "contingent," derives it from the Arabic *tābīn*, one who follows.¹ The books (B.M. 1641, fol. 46b, B.M. 6599, 144b and 148b) give a long table setting forth their pay in *dāms*, beginning with that for five horsemen and ending with that for 40,000, but as the basis for calculation remains the same throughout, it is sufficient here to work out the pay for one horseman. For five horsemen, then, 40,000 *dāms* a year were allowed. That would be 8000 *dāms* for one man; and this sum in *dāms* yields Rs. 200 a year (at the fixed rate of 40 *dāms* to the rupee), or Rs. 16 10a. 8p. per man per mensem. Bernier, 217, states the rate as somewhat higher—"he that keeps one horse shall not receive less than 25 rupees a month." For this sum, of course, the man provided his own horse and armour, and paid for his own and his horse's keep. One *Dastūr-ul-'Aml*, B.M. 6599, fol. 144b, tells us that the number of horses to men among the troopers (*tābinān-i-barādarī*) was according to the rule of *dah-bist* (lit. "ten-twenty"), meaning apparently that the total number of horses was double that of the number of men. The scale was as follows:—

3 three-horsed men	= 9 horses
4 two-horsed men	= 8 horses
3 one-horsed men	= 3 horses
<hr/> 10 men	<hr/> 20 horses

That is, with 1000 men there would be 2000 horses. The pay of the men with the extra horses was higher, but not in proportion. Thus, a one-horsed man received 8000 D.

¹ Steingass, 272, تَابِين, A, following in the steps of another; but Pavet de Courteille, Dict. Turc. Oriental, 194, claims it as a Chaghatāi word, with the meanings of "a troop of 50 men, the body-guard, the pages."

or Rs. 200 a year (Rs. 16 10a. 8p. per mensem), while the two- or three-horsed man got 11,000 D. or Rs. 275 a year (Rs. 22 14a. 8p. per mensem). In some places we find other rates of pay recorded. For instance, Bahādur Shāh enlisted *Aḥadis*, men a little superior to common soldiers, at Rs. 40 a month (Dānishmand Khān, second Ṣafar of the second year, i.e. 1120 H. = 22nd April 1708). A century later, as Fitzclarence tells us, "Journal," 73, 142, the rate was Rs. 40 a month in the Dakhin, and Rs. 22 in Hindūstān. Service in the cavalry was socially an honourable profession; thus a common trooper was looked on as being, to some extent, a gentleman, and such men, even when illiterate, often rose to the highest positions.

The pay of the *Tābinān* was drawn by the *manṣabdār*, who was entitled to retain 5 per cent. of their pay for himself (*Āḥn*, i, 265). Pay was not always allowed for a whole year; often only for six, five, or four months. This fact renders it impossible to calculate the actual expenditure, for, although we generally can find out whether a *manṣabdār* was first, second, or third class, we do not know for what number of months in the year his pay was sanctioned.

Chelās.—As a counterpoise to the mercenaries in their employ, over whom they had a very loose hold, commanders were in the habit of getting together, as the kernel of their force, a body of personal dependents or slaves, who had no one to look to except their master. Such troops were known by the Hindī name of *chelā* (a slave). They were fed, clothed, and lodged by their employer, had mostly been brought up and trained by him, and had no other home than his camp. They were recruited chiefly from children taken in war or bought from their parents during times of famine. The great majority were of Hindu origin, but all were made Mahomedans when received into the body of *chelās*. These *chelās* were the only troops on which a man could place entire reliance as being ready to follow his fortunes in both foul and fair weather. Muḥammad Khān Bangash's system of *chelās* is described by me in J.A.S. Bengal, part i, 1878, p. 340.

III. RULES CONNECTED WITH PAY AND ALLOWANCES.

In the preceding paragraphs have been shown in general terms the rates of pay for the cavalry, and some of the rules by which pay was governed. When we come to the actual working out in detail of this part of the army administration, our difficulties increase. The official manuals, which are our only guide, are couched in the briefest of language, and naturally presume a knowledge of many things of which we are ignorant. Nor can we be certain whether the rules that they lay down were of general application or were applicable to certain classes of troops only. Thus the data are insufficient for any complete exposition of this part of the general subject. The matters treated of in the next following paragraphs are, moreover, of a somewhat miscellaneous description, and many of them might be better classed under other heads, such as Discipline, Recruiting, and so forth; but as there is not enough material to yield complete information, I have thought it better to deal with the greater part of them, as the native authors do, in their relation to the calculation of pay.

Rates of Pay.—The rates of pay for officers and men of the cavalry, forming numerically far the most important part of the army, have been already stated when dealing with the *manṣab* system. The rates for Infantry and Artillery, so far as recorded, will be stated when we come to those branches of the service.

Date from which Pay Drawn.—On an officer being first appointed, if by his rank he was exempt from having his horses branded (*dāgh*), his pay began from the date of confirmation (*‘arṣ-i-mukarrar*). If such branding were necessary, pay began from the date of branding (the day itself being excluded), and as soon as this condition had been complied with, a disbursement was made of one month's pay on account. In the case of promotion, if it were unconditional, the rules were the same as above; if conditional, the pay began from the date of entering on office (*Dastūr-ul-‘Aml*, B.M. 1641, fol. 37a, 58a; *id.* 6599, fol. 146b, *Dastūr-ul-Inshā*, 233).

Conditional (Mashrūt) and Unconditional (Bilā-shart) Pay.

—Rank and pay might be given absolutely, or they might be conditional on the holding of some particular office. The temporary or *mashrūt* *ba khidmat* rank was given as an addition to the permanent, *bilā-shart* rank which a man already occupied. On ceasing to hold the office, such as that of governor (*ṣubahdār*) or military magistrate (*faujdār*), the *mashrūt* rank and pay were taken away.

Pay always in Arrears.—In later times pay due from the imperial treasury to the *manṣabdārs*, as well as that due from the *manṣabdārs* to the private soldiers, was always in arrears. In fact, we should not go far wrong, I think, if we asserted that this was the case in the very best times. The reasons are obvious. More men were entertained than could be easily paid; Indian Mahomedans are very bad financiers; the habit of the East is to stave off payment by any expedient. To owe money to somebody seems in that country the normal condition of mankind. For example, even such a careful manager as Nizām-ul-Mulk, in his alleged testament, dated the 4th Jamādi II, 1161 H. (31st May, 1748), is credited with the boast that he “never withheld pay for *more than three months*” (“Asiatick Miscellany,” Calcutta, 1788, vol. iii, 160). Another reason for keeping the men in arrears may have been the feeling that they were thereby prevented from transferring their services to some other chief quite as readily as they might have done if there were nothing owing. Disturbances raised by troops clamouring for their pay were among the unfailing sequels to the disgrace or sudden death of a commander. The instances are too numerous to specify. On this head Haji Mustapha, *Seir*, iii, 35, note 29, says truly enough:—“The troops are wretchedly paid, twenty or thirty months of arrears being no rarity. The ministers, princes, and grandees always keep twice or thrice as many men as they have occasion for, and fancy that by withholding the pay they concern the men in the preservation of their lord’s life.” We can also quote Lord Clive as to the state of things in the Bengal *ṣubah* in 1757 (“Minutes

of Select Committee of 1772," reprint, 52)—"There were great arrears due to the army by Sirāj-ud-Daulah as well as by Mir Ja'far, and the sums amounted to three or four millions sterling. It is the custom of the country never to pay the army a fourth part of what they promise them; and it is only in times of distress that the army can get paid at all, and that is the reason why their troops always behave so" (badly?).

Pay in Naḥd and in Jāgīr.—Pay (*tankhwāh*: literally, *tan* 'body,' *khwāh* 'need') might be either *Naḥd*, that is, given in cash (*naḥd*); or *Jāgīr* (literally, *jā* 'place,' *gīr*, taking, from *giriḥtān*), that is an assignment (*jāgīr*) of the land revenue of a certain number of villages (*mauḥẓa'*) or of a subdivision (*parganaḥ*). A certain number of officers and soldiers, chiefly those of the infantry and artillery, who were, as a rule, on the pay list of the emperor himself, were paid in cash. This seems to have been the case in all reigns up to quite the end. But the favourite mode of payment was by an assignment of the government revenue from land. Such an arrangement seems to have suited both parties. The State was a very centralized organization, fairly strong at the centre, but weak at the extremities. It was glad to be relieved of the duty of collecting and bringing in the revenue from distant places. This task was left to the *jāgīrdār*, or holder of the *jāgīr*, and unless such a *maṇṣabdār* were a great noble or high in imperial favour, the assignment was made on the most distant and most imperfectly subdued provinces.¹ On the other hand, a chance of dealing with land and handling the income from it, has had enormous attractions in all parts of the world, and in none more than in India. Nobles and officers by obtaining an assignment of revenue hoped to make certain of some income, instead of depending helplessly for payment on the good pleasure of the Court. Then in negotiating for a *jāgīr* there were all sorts of possibilities. A judicious bribe might secure to a man

¹ This may have been a development of Taimūr's practice of granting the pay of his amirs from his frontier provinces.—Davy and White, "Institutes," 237.

a larger *jāgīr* than was his due; and if he were lucky, he might make it yield more than its nominal return. Many such considerations must have been present to their minds. Whatever be the true reasons, of this there can be no doubt, that the system was highly popular, and that the struggle for *jāgīrs* was intensely keen. A recent French writer, M. Emile Barbé, "*Le Nabab René Madec*," 117, speaking of a *jāgīr* given in 1775, says: "*Cette apparition des jaguirs dans l'Empire Mogol à son declin est un fait sociologique du plus haut intérêt.*" The system of *jāgīr* grants may be an interesting sociological fact—as to that I have nothing to say for or against; but it was not introduced into the Mogol Empire during its decline. *Jāgīrs* existed in that empire's most flourishing days, having been granted as early as Akbar (Blochmann, *Āin*, i, 261), while under Shāhjahān they existed on a most extensive scale.

If the *jāgīr* were a large one, the officer managed it through his own agents, who exercised on his behalf most of the functions of government. Such *jāgīrs* were practically outside the control of the local governor or *faujdār*, and formed a sort of *imperium in imperio*. The disastrous effects of the system, in this aspect, need not be further dwelt on here. On the other hand, a small *jāgīr* was more frequently left by the assignee in the hands of the *faujdār*, through whom the revenue demand was realized. Gradually, as the bonds of authority were relaxed from the centre, the *faujdārs* and *ṣūbahdārs* ignored more and more the claims of these assignees, and finally ceased to remit or make over to them any of the collections.

I append here the first steps of official procedure followed in the grant of a *jāgīr*. We are to suppose that one Khwājah Raḥmatullah has been recalled from duty in some province, and that on appearing at court he has applied for a new *jāgīr*. Through the *Dūrān-i-tan*, a great officer at the head of one of the two revenue departments, a *ḥāḳikat*, or Statement of Facts, was drawn up, in the following form (B.M. No. 6599, foll. 156a to 157b) :—

Statement (*Ḥaḳīkat*).

Khwājah Raḥmatullah, son of Khwājah Aḥmad, a native of Balkh, who was attached to the standards in Province So-and-so, having come to the Presence in pursuance of the exalted orders, and the *jāgīr* which, up to such-and-such a harvest, was held by him in the said Province, having been granted to So-and-so, in this matter what is the order as to the *tankhūwāh jāgīr* of the above-named.

[on the margin] { Presentation (*mulāzamat*)
 { Day so-and-so, month so-and-so
 { Offering (*nazar*)
 { 9 Muhrs (gold coins) and
 { 18 Rupees.

This *ḥaḳīkat* was passed on by the *Divān-i-tan* to the *Divān-i-‘āla* (or wazīr). The latter placed it before the Emperor. If an order were given for a *jāgīr* to be granted, the wazīr endorsed on the paper, “The pure and noble order issued to grant a *jāgīr* in *tankhūwāh* from the commencement of such-and-such a harvest.” This paper then becomes the voucher for the chief clerk to the *Divān-i-tan*, who wrote out a *siyāha daul*, or Rough Estimate, as follows:

Rough Estimate.

Khwājah Raḥmatullah, son of Khwājah Aḥmad, of Balkh. Whereas he was on duty in Province So-and-so, and according to order has reached the Blessed Stirrup (*i.e.* the Court)—

One thousand, Personal (*zāt*)

200 men, Horse (*suwār*)

Pay in dāms

34 lakhs

Personal

Troopers

(*tābīnān*)

18 lakhs

16 lakhs

= Total, 34 lakhs.

Feed of Four-footed animals (*Khūrāk-i-dawābb*) remitted.

Parganah So-and-so,
situated in Province
So-and-so,
20 lakhs of Dāms.

Parganah So-and-so,
situated in Province
So-and-so,
14 lakhs of Dāms.

It will be seen, on referring to a previous page, that as the man was 1000 *gāt*, but had only 200 *sucār* rank, he was a third class *Hazārī*. By the table this gives him 18 lakhs, and then 200 horsemen at 8000 dāms each comes to 16 lakhs, making the 34 lakhs which are sanctioned in the above.

The *dawl*, or estimate, was made over to the diary-writer (*wāḳī'ah navīs*), who, after he had entered it on the *wāḳī'ah* (diary), prepared an extract called a memorandum (*yād-dāsht*) for submission to the office of the confirmation of orders (*'arṣ-i-mukarrar*, lit. second petition). The *yād-dāsht* repeated the facts much in the same form as the *ḥaḳīkat* and the *dawl*. On it the wazīr wrote: "Let this be compared with the diary (*wāḳī'ah*) and then sent on to the confirmation office (*'arṣ-i-mukarrar*)." On the margin the diary-writer (*wāḳī'ah navīs*) then reported: "This *yād-dāsht* accords with the *wāḳī'ah*." Next the superintendent (*dāroghah*) of the confirmation office wrote: "On such-and-such a date of such-and-such a month of such-and-such a year this reached the confirmation office. The order given was—'Approved.'" We need not follow here the further fate of the order after it left the Court and reached the governor of the province referred to.

Loans, Advances, and Gifts.—The technical name for a loan or advance of pay was *musā'adat* (Steingass, 1225, II, helping, favour, assistance, aid), and the conditions as to interest and repayment are given in Book ii, *Ā'in* 15, of the *Ā'in-i-Akbarī* (Blochmann, i, 265). Historians frequently mention the advance of money under this name. In later times, especially from the reign of Muhammad Shāh, no commander ever took the field without

the grant of the most liberal cash advances to meet his expenses. Possibly these were never repaid, or were from the first intended as free gifts. When we meet with the phrase *tankhwāh-i-ina'm*, I presume that there can be no doubt of the payment being a gift. Here the word *tankhwāh* seems to denote the order or cheque on the treasury, and the word *ina'm* (gift, present), differentiates it from other *tankhwāh*, which were in the nature of payments to be repeated periodically. The recovery of loans and advances came under a head in the accounts called *muṭālibah* (Steingass, 1259, asking, claim, due). Another term of somewhat similar import, *bāz-yāft* (Steingass, 146, the resumption of anything, a deduction, stoppage), seems to have been confined to the recovery of items put under objection in the revenue accounts by the *mustaufis*, or auditors. At one time the recovery of an advance was made from a man's pay in four instalments; but towards the end of 'Ālamgīr's reign, it was taken in eight instalments (B.M. No. 1641, fol. 58b).

Deductions.—Of these I have found the following: *kasūr-i-do-dāmī* (fraction of the two dāms), *kharch-i-sikkah* (expenses of minting), *ayyām-i-ḥilālī* (days of the moon's rise), *ḥiṣṣah-i-ijās* (share in kind), *khūrāk-i-āwābb* (feed of four-footed animals).

Kasūr-i-do-dāmī.—*Kasūr* is, literally, fractions, deficiencies, faults. This item was a discount of five per cent., that is, of two dāms in every forty, and therefore styled "do-dāmī" (B.M. 1641, fol. 37a). The origin of this is to be found possibly in Akbar's five per cent. deductions from the Aḥadī troopers on account of horses and other expenses (*Ā'in*, i, 250, line 14). The rate of deduction is differently stated in fol. 58b, B.M. 1641, as four dāms in the 100, if the officer drew seven or eight months' pay, and two dāms in the 100, if he drew less than that number of months.

Kharch-i-sikkah was also deducted: in 'Ālamgīr's reign the rates were Rs. 1 12a. 0p. per cent. on Shāhjahān's coinage, and Rs. 1 8a. 0p. per cent. on the coin of the reigning emperor. Under the rules then in force, the Shāhjahānī

coins, not being those of the reigning emperor, were uncurrent, and therefore subject to a discount. Why a deduction was made on the coins of the reigning emperor, is harder to explain. It was not till Farrukhsiyar's reign, I believe, that the coinage was called in annually, from which time only coins of the current year were accepted, even by the government itself, at full face-value.

Ayyām-i-ḥilālī.—This was a deduction of one day's pay in every month except Ramṣān. *Maṣṣabdārs*, *Aḥadīs*, and *barḳandāz* (matchlockmen) were all subject to it. But, towards the end of 'Ālamgīr's reign, it was remitted until the Narbada was crossed, that is, I presume, so long as a man served in the Dakhin (B.M. 1641, fol. 55*b*, 62*b*). The reason for making this deduction is difficult to fathom; and about the name itself there is some doubt. In the first of the two entries just quoted, I read the word as *talāfī* (Steingass, 321, obtaining, making amends, compensation, reparation); but this variant, instead of throwing light on the subject, leaves it as obscure as before.

Hiṣṣah-i-ijnās.—*Jins* (goods) is used in opposition to *naḳd* (cash), and this item (*hiṣṣah*=share, *ijnās*=goods) seems to mean the part of a man's pay delivered to him in kind. Apparently this item did not apply to the cavalry. In the case of the matchlockmen, artillerymen, and artificers, the deduction was $\frac{1}{4}$ if the man were mounted, and $\frac{1}{2}$ if he were not. This represented the value of the rations supplied to him. There is another entry of *rasad-i-jins* (supplies of food?), the exact nature of which I cannot determine (B.M. 1641, fol. 62*b*).

Khūrāk-i-dawābb.—This is, literally, *khūrāk*, feed, *dawābb*, four-footed animals. It was a deduction from a *maṣṣabdār's* pay on account of a certain number of horses and elephants belonging to the emperor, with whose maintenance such officer was saddled. The germ of this exaction can, I think, be found in Akbar's system of making over elephants to the charge of grandees (*Ā'in*, i, 126). "He (Akbar) therefore put several *halkahs* (groups of baggage elephants) in charge of every grandee, and required them to look after them."

Akbar would seem to have paid the expenses; but in process of time, we can suppose, the charge was transferred to the officer's shoulders entirely, and in the end he had to submit to the deduction without even the use of the animals being given to him. At any rate, the burden became a subject of great complaint. This is shown by a passage in Khāfi Khān, ii, 602.

"In the reign of 'Ālamgīr the *manṣabdārs* for a long period were reduced to wanting their evening meal, owing to the lowness of the assignments (*pācbāḳī*) granted by the emperor. His stinginess reminds one of the proverb 'one pomegranate for a hundred sick men,' *yak anār, sau bīmār*. After many efforts and exertions, some small assignment (*jāgīr*) on the land revenue would be obtained. The lands were probably uncultivated, and the total income of the *jāgīr* might not amount to a half or even a third of the money required for the expenses of the animals. If these were realized from the officer, whence could come the money to preserve his children and family from death by starvation? In spite of this, the Akhtah Begī (Master of the Horse) and other accursed clerks caused the cost of feeding the emperor's animals to be imposed on the *manṣabdārs*, and, imprisoning their agents at court, used force and oppression of all kinds to obtain the money.

"When the agents (*wakīls*) complained of this oppression to the emperor, the head of the elephant stables and the Akhtah Begī so impressed matters on the emperor's mind, that the complaints were not listened to, and all the men were reduced to such an extremity by this oppression, that the agents resigned their agency. In Bahādur Shāh's reign, the *Khān-i-Khānān* decided that when the *manṣabdārs* received a *jāgīr* for their support, the number of *dāms* required for the cost of feeding cattle should be deducted first from the total estimated income, and the balance should be assigned as the income. In this way, the obligation for meeting the cost of feeding the animals was entirely removed from the heads of the *manṣabdārs* and their agents. Indeed, to speak the truth, it was an order to absolve them

from the cost of the cattle provender." Dowson (Elliot, vii. 403) could make nothing of this passage.

In the case of officers below a certain rank, the deduction of *khūrāk-i-dawābb* was not made. The rule says that where the pay (*tankhūwāh*) did not come up to 15 lakhs of *dāms*, the deduction was not made; but apparently no lower rank than that of 400 *gāt*, 200 *suwār*, was liable. This rank would by the tables draw a pay of 20 lakhs of *dāms*. As to the rate of deduction, the records are so obscure that I am unable to come to any conclusions. Sometimes we are told that the calculation was made at so many *dāms* on each 100,000 *dāms* of pay; at others, that for each 100,000 *dāms* one riding and five baggage elephants were charged for. A distinction in rates was made between Mahomedans and Hindus, the former paying more; also between officers holding *jāgīrs* in Hindūstān and those holding them in the Dakhīn and Aḥmadābād, the former paying slightly less than the latter.

Fines.—We come now to the subject of fines, which were of various sorts, such as *tafāwat-i-asp* (deficiency in horses), *tafāwat-i-silāh* (deficiency in equipment), *tafāwat-i-tābīnān* (deficiency in troopers), also called, it would seem, *kamī-i-barādārī*, *tawakkuf* o *ʿadam-i-taḥqīqah* (non-verification), *saḳāṭī* (casualties), *bartaraḳī* (rejections).

Tafāwat-i-asp.—This is literally "difference of horses," and refers to a classification of horses by their breed and size, which will be referred to more fully under the head of Branding and Verification. In each rank or *manṣab* a certain number of each class of horse had to be maintained, and if at Verification it was found that this regulation had not been complied with, the result was a fine. In the section on Branding I give the rates so far as recorded.

Tafāwat-i-silāh.—This "difference in armour" was a fine for not producing at inspection arms and armour according to the required scale. The amount of fine and so forth I have stated further on under the head of Equipment.

Tafāwat-i-tābīnān (difference of followers) or *kamī-i-barādārī* (deficiency in relations) was a fine imposed on an

officer for non-production of the number of men stipulated for by the *suwār* rank. The following rates are stated in B.M. 1641, fol. 37*a*, and I presume that the deductions apply to *manṣabdārs* as well as to *Aḥadis*, and that they were made from the monthly pay for each man deficient, although the entry is so brief as to remain very obscure:—

	NUMBER OF MONTHS FOR WHICH PAY WAS DRAWN.				
	FOUR MONTHS.	FIVE MONTHS.	SIX MONTHS.	SEVEN MONTHS.	EIGHT MONTHS.
Amount of Fine in Rupees.	R. A. P. 2 8 0	R. A. P. 3 0 0	R. A. P. 4 0 0	R. A. P. 7 0 0	R. A. P. 8 0 0

In another passage, fol. 41, the same authority explains the matter thus. In the twenty-first year of 'Ālamgīr, a report on this subject having been made, the emperor allowed a term of four turns of guard (*chaukī*) for a *manṣabdār* to produce men of his own class or family (*barādarī*), and for this period pay for the men was passed as if they had been present. But subsequently, on the first Rabi' of the twenty-third year, the delay was extended to two months, and for the time during which such men were not actually present, pay at half-rates was sanctioned.

Aḥshām.—In the case of the *Aḥshām*, or troops belonging to the infantry and artillery, we have a little more definite information under this head (B.M. 1641, fol. 64*a*). Officers of this class fell into three subdivisions, *hazārī* (of a thousand), *ṣadīwā'* (hundred-man), and *mirdahāh* (lord of ten). The first class was always mounted (*suwār*) and the second sometimes; these mounted officers might be two-horse (*dūaspah*) or only one-horse (*yakaspah*) men. Working on these distinctions, we get the following scheme of pay. *Dūaspah Suwār*: Where, inclusive of the officer's own retainers (*khāṣah*), there were one hundred men present per 100 of rank, pay was drawn at *dūaspah* rates. But

if the number were under fifty per 100 of rank, pay was passed to the *hazārī* as if he were a mounted *ṣadīwāl*; subject to restoration to *dūaspah* pay when his muster again conformed to the standard. *Yakaspah*: If, including *khāsah* men, there were fifty men present per 100 of rank, full pay was given; if only thirty-one or under, then the *hazārī* was paid as a *ṣadīwāl piyādah* (unmounted), and certain other deductions were made. *Piyādah* (unmounted officer).—If a *ṣadīwāl* produced under thirty-one men out of his hundred, he received nothing but his rations. When the numbers rose above thirty, he was paid as a *mirdahah* till his full quota was mustered. In the case of a *mirdahah*, the production of two men entitled him to his pay. If one man only was paraded for inspection, a deduction from the pay was made, varying, on conditions which I have not mastered, from one to three annas per man.

Tawaḳḳuf-i-taṣḥīḥah (Delay in Verification).—The rules for Branding and Verification will be found further on. If the periods fixed were allowed to elapse without the verification having been made, a man was reported for delay; and then a *manṣubdār* was cut the whole, and an *aḥādī* the half, of his pay (B.M. 1641, fol. 58b).

Sakaṭī and *Barṭarafī*.—The first word is from *sakaṭ shudan* 'to die' (applied to animals, Steingass, 687), and may be translated casualties. The other word means setting aside or rejecting, in other words to cast a horse as unfit. We find the groundwork of the *sakaṭī* system in the *Āin-i-Akbarī*, Blochmann, i, 250. In later times there were the following rules for regulating pay in such cases. First it was seen whether the man was *dūaspah* (paid for two horses) or *yakaspah* (paid for one horse). In the first case, (1) if one horse died (*sakaṭ shavad*) or was cast (*bar ṭaraf shud*), the man was paid at the *yakaspah* rate; (2) if both horses died or were turned out, the man obtained his personal pay for one month, and if after one month he had still no horse, his personal pay was also stopped. In the second case, that of a *yakaspah*, if there were no horse, personal pay was disbursed for one month;

but after one month nothing was given (B.M. 1641, fol. 41a).

If an *aḥadī*'s horse died while he was at headquarters, the clerk of the casualties, after having inspected the hide, wrote out his certificate (*saḥat-nāmah*), and pay was disbursed according to it. If the man were on detached duty when his horse died, the brand (*dāgh*) and the tail were sent in to headquarters (B.M. 1641, fol. 29b).

Other incidents of military service considered as affecting pay.—Among these may be mentioned: (1) *Ghair-hāẓirī* (absence without leave); (2) *Bimārī* (illness); (3) *Rukḥṣat* (leave and furlough); (4) *Farārī* (desertion); (5) *Bartarafī* (discharge or resignation); (6) Pension; (7) *Fantī* (death).

(1) *Ghair-hāẓirī*.—If a man were absent from three consecutive turns of guard (*chaukī*), his pay was cut; but if he did not attend the fourth time, the penalty was dismissal, and all pay due was confiscated. Absence from night guard or at roll-call (*jāizah*) involved the loss of a day's pay. If absent at the time of the emperor's public or private audience, or on a day of festival (*īd*), half a day's pay was taken (B.M. 1641, fol. 39a, 62b).

(2) *Bimārī*.—Absence on the ground of illness was overlooked for three turns of guard (*chaukī*), but after that period all pay was stopped, and a medical certificate (*bimārī-nāmah*) from a physician was demanded (B.M. 1641, fol. 39a, 58a). The rule is somewhat differently stated in B.M. 6599, fol. 163b.

(3) *Rukḥṣat*.—Men who went on leave for their own business received no pay while doing no duty (B.M. 1641, fol. 41b). In another place in the same work, fol. 64b, we find a different statement. We are there told that for one month a man received half-pay; if he overstayed his leave it was reduced to one-fifth or one-tenth; and after three months' absence he was classed as an absconder. Leave on account of family rejoicings or mournings was allowed for one turn of duty; if the man were absent longer his pay was cut (B.M. 1641, fol. 39a). Again, on fol. 57b, a rule is stated, of which I am not able to understand the bearing. It

seems to be that not more than two months of arrears were to be paid to a man who took leave; but whether that means the arrears due to him when he left, or the pay accruing during his absence, I cannot say.

(4) *Farārī*.—If, among the *Akshām*, an absconder who had been some time in the service, left after drawing his pay in full, the amount was shown on the margin (*hasho*) of the pay-bill (*kabṣ*) as recoverable, and one month's pay was realized from the man's surety. If a recruit absconded after drawing money on account, the whole advance was recovered, but a present of one month's pay was allowed. If a matchlockman deserted the service of one leader to enter that of another, he was cut half a month's pay (*nām-māhah*). But, if it were found that the *mirdahah* or *ṣadiwāl*, to whom he had gone, had induced him to desert, such officer had to pay the fine himself (B.M. 1641, fol. 64b). Pay of absconders was reckoned up to the date of the last verification, and three months' time was allowed (*idem*, fol. 57b). By the last phrase I understand that they were allowed that time to reappear, if they chose. If they were again entertained, their rations only were passed, that is, I presume, for the interval of absence (*idem*, fol. 64b).

(5) *Barṭarafī*.—If the discharged *manṣabdār* produced a clear verification roll, he received half of the pay of his *ẓāt* rank, and the full pay of his horsemen (*tābīnān*). Matchlockmen received their pay in full up to the date of discharge (B.M. 1641, fols. 57b, 62a).

(6) *Pension*.—So far as I have ascertained, there was no pension list, under that express name. No retiring allowances could be claimed as of right. When a man retired from active service, we hear sometimes of his being granted a daily or yearly allowance. Such was the case, for instance, when Nizām-ul-Mulk in Bahādur Shāh's reign threw up the whole of his offices and titles, and retired into private life. But the ordinary method of providing for an old servant was to leave him till his death in undisturbed possession of his rank and *jāgīr*.

(7) *Fautī*.—It seems that in the case of deaths a different

rule prevailed, according to whether the death was a natural one or the man lost his life on active service. In the one case half-pay and in the other full-pay was disbursed to the heirs on the production of a certificate of heirship (*wāriṣ-nāmah*) attested by the *kāṣi*.

IV. REWARDS AND DISTINCTIONS.

The promise of honorary distinctions has been in all ages and in all countries one of the most potent agencies employed to incite men to exertion. We have our medals, crosses, orders, and peerages. The Moghul sovereigns were even more ingenious in converting things mostly worthless in themselves into objects to be ardently striven for and dearly prized. Among these were: (1) Titles; (2) Robes of Honour; (3) Gifts of Money and other articles; (4) Kettle-drums; (5) Standards and Ensigns.

1. *Titles*.—The system of entitlature was most elaborate and based on strict rule. This subject belongs, however, to the general scheme of government, and need not be set forth at length here. Suffice it to say, that a man would begin by becoming a *Khān* or Lord (added to his own name). After that, he might receive some name supposed to be appropriate to his qualities, coupled with the word *Khān*, such as *Ikh-lāṣ Khān*, Lord Sincerity; an artillery officer might be dubbed *Ra'd-andāz Khān*, Lord Thunder-thrower, or a skilful horseman, *Yakah-Tāz Khān*, Lord Single Combat, and so on. Round such a title as a nucleus, accreted all the remaining titles with which a man might from time to time be invested. As the empire declined in strength, so did the titles increase in pomposity, and long before the end of the dynasty the discrepancy between a man's real qualities and his titles was so great as often to be ridiculous. Still, these titles were never given quite at random, nor were they self-adopted. Yet I read quite recently in a history of India, by a well-known and esteemed author, that one governor of Bengal was "a

Brahman convert *calling himself* Murshid Kuli Khan." Now Murshid Kuli Khān no more called *himself* by that name than has Baron Roberts of Candahar called himself by the title he bears. Both titles were derived from the accepted fountain of honour, the sovereigns of the states which those bearing them respectively served.

(2) *Robes of Honour*.—The *khila't* was not peculiar to the military department. These robes of honour were given to everyone presented at court. Distinction was, however, made according to the position of the receiver. There were five degrees of *khila't*, those of three, five, six, or seven pieces; or they might as a special mark of favour consist of clothes that the emperor had actually worn (*malbūs-i-khāṣ*). A three-piece *khila't*, given from the general wardrobe (*khila't-khānah*), consisted of a turban (*dustūr*), a long coat with very full skirts (*jāmāh*), and a scarf for the waist (*kamrband*). A five-piece robe came from the *toshah-khānah* (storehouse for presents), the extra pieces being a turban ornament called a *sarpech* and a band for tying across the turban (*bālāband*). For the next grade a tight-fitting jacket with short sleeves, called a Half-sleeve (*nīmāh-astīn*), was added. A European writer, Tavernier (Ball, i, 163), thus details the seven-piece *khila't*: (1) a cap, (2) a long gown (*ka'bah*), (3) a close-fitting coat (*arkalon*), which I take to be *alkhālīk*, a tight coat, (4) two pairs of trousers, (5) two shirts, (6) two girdles, (7) a scarf for the head or neck.

(3) *Gifts, other than money*.—These were naturally of considerable variety. I have drawn up the following list from Dānishmand Khān's history of the first two years of Bahādur Shāh's reign (1708–1710): Jewelled ornaments, weapons, principally swords and daggers with jewelled hilts, pālkīs with fringes of gold lace and pearls, horses with gold-mounted and jewelled trappings, and elephants. The order in which the above are given indicates roughly both the frequency with which these presents were granted and the relative value set upon them, beginning with those most frequently given and the least esteemed.

(4) *Kettledrums*.—As one of the attributes of sovereignty, kettledrums were beaten at the head of the army when the emperor was on the march; and in quarters they were beaten every three hours at the gate of his camp. The instruments in use, in addition to the drums, will be found in the *Ā'in-i-Akbarī* (Blochmann, i, 51). As a mark of favour, kettledrums (*nahk̄ārah*) and the right to play them (*naubat*) might be granted to a subject. But he must be a man of the rank of 2000 *surār* or upwards. As an invariable condition, moreover, it was stipulated that they should never be used where the emperor was present, nor within a certain distance from his residence. Marching through the middle of Dihli with drums beating was one of the signs by which Sayyad Husain 'Alī Khān, Amīr-ul-Umarā, notified defiance of constituted authority, when he returned from the Dakhin in 1719, preparatory to dethroning the Emperor Farrukhsiyar. The drums when granted were placed on the recipient's back, and, thus accoutred, he did homage for them in the public audience hall. In Lord Lake's case the investment was thus carried out: "Two small drums of silver, each about the size of a thirty-two pound shot, the apertures covered with parchments, are hung round the neck of the person on whom the honour is conferred, then struck a few times, after which drums of the proper size are made."—Thorn, "War," 356.

(5) *Flags and Ensigns*.—The flags and ensigns displayed, along with a supply of spare weapons, at the door of the audience hall and at the entrance to the emperor's encampment, or carried before him on elephants, were called collectively the *Kūr* (Pavet de Courteille, "Dict.," 425, ceinture, arme, garde), and their charge was committed to a responsible officer called the *Kūr-begī*. An alternative general name sometimes employed was *māhī-o-marātib* (Fish and Dignities), or more rarely, the *panjah* (literally, Open Hand). It is, no doubt, the *Kūr* which Gemelli Careri describes thus (French ed. iii, 182): "Outside the audience tent I saw nine men in red velvet coats embroidered with

gold, with wide sleeves and pointed collars hanging down behind, who carried the imperial ensigns displayed at the end of pikes. The man in the middle carried a sun, the two on each side of him had each a gilt hand, the next two carried horse-tails dyed red. The remaining four, having covers on their pikes, it could not be seen what it was they held."

In the *Ā'in*, i, 50, we are told of eight ensigns of royalty, of which the first four were reserved exclusively for the sovereign. The use of the others might, we must assume, be granted to subjects. The eight ensigns are—(1) *Aurang*, the throne; (2) *Chatr*, the State umbrella; (3) *Sāibān* or *Āftābgir*, a sunshade; (4) *Kaukabah* (plate ix, No. 2); (5) *Ālam*, or flag; (6) *Chatr-tok*, or yak-tails; (7) *Tūman-tok*, another shape of yak-tails; (8) *Jhanda*, or Indian flag. To these we must add (9) *Māhi-o-marātib*, or the fish and dignities.

The origin and meaning of the different ensigns displayed by the Moghul Emperors in India have been thus described, *Mirāt-ul-Istilāh*, fol. 5b:—

(1) *Panjah*, an open hand, is said to mean the hand of 'Alī. Taimūr ordered it to be carried before him for a charm and as a sacred relic. It was said that he captured it when he overcame the Siyāhposh tribe. In 1753 Gentil saw four different "pondjchs" (ie. *panjahs*) carried on horseback in Šalābat Jang's cavalcade; they were copper hands fixed on the end of a staff ("Mémoires," 61).

(2) *Ālam*, a flag or standard.—This was supposed to be the flag of Husain, and obtained by Taimūr at Karbalah. To it he attributed his victory over Bāyāzīd, the Kaisar of Rūm.

(3) *Mizān*, a balance, was a reference to the equal scales of Justice, and was adopted as having been the emblem of Nūshīrwān the Just. There is a figure on a plate in Gentil's "Mémoires," which is probably the *Mizān*.

(4) *Āftāb*, or Sun, was obtained from the fire-worshippers when they were conquered; it was an article used in their worship.

(5, 6) *Azhdaha-paikar*, Dragon-face.—From the time of Sikandar of the Two Horns, the rajahs of Hind had worshipped this emblem in their temples, and when Taimūr made his irruption into India it was presented to him as an offering. It consisted of two pieces, one carried in front and the other behind the emperor.

(7) *Māhi*, or Fish, was said to have been an offering from the islands of the ocean, where it was worshipped.

(8) *Kumkumah* (Steingass, 989, a bowl, a jug, a round shade, a lantern).—This also was obtained from the Indian rajahs. The *Ā'in-i-Akbari*, i, 50, has *kaukabah* for apparently the same thing (see figure No. 2 on plate ix). There is also what looks like the *kaukabah* in a plate in Gentil's "Mémoires." The definition of *kaukabah* in Steingass, 1063, corresponds with the figure in the *Ā'in*, viz. "a polished steel ball suspended from a long pole and carried as an ensign before the king." Careri, iii, 182, tells us that he saw a golden ball hanging by a chain between two gilt hands, and adds that "it was a royal ensign carried on an elephant when the army was on the march."

All these emblems, we are told, were carried before the emperor as a sign of conquest over the Seven Climes, or, in other words, over the whole world.

Māhi-o-marātib.—Some words must be added with special reference to this dignity, which was borne on elephants or camels in a man's retinue. It was one of the very highest honours, as it was not granted to nobles below the rank of 6000 *zāt*, 6000 *sunār* (*Mirāt-ul-Istilah*, fol. 3). *Māhi* (literally, a fish), was made in the figure of a fish, four feet in length, of copper gilt, and it was placed horizontally on the point of a spear (*Seir*, i, 218, note 150, and 743, note 51). Steingass, i, 147, defines *māhi-marātib* as "certain honours denoted by the figure of a fish with other insignia (two balls)". But in careful writers I have always found it as *māhi-o-marātib*, "fish and dignities," and, as I take it, the first word refers to the fish emblem and the second to the balls or other adjuncts which went with it. The *marātib* Thorn, "War," 356, describes as a ball of copper gilt

encircled by a *jhālar* or fringe about two feet in length, placed on a long pole, and, like the *māhī*, carried on an elephant. Can this be Gemelli Careri's "golden ball"? Perhaps it was identical with the *kumkumah* or *kaukabah* already described above. The translator of the *Seir-Mutaq-herin*, i, 218, note 150, tells us that the fish was always accompanied by the figure of a man's head in copper gilt. This must have been in addition to the gilt balls. The *māhī*, as conferred on Lord Lake on the 14th August, 1804 (Thorn, "War," 356), is described as "representing a fish with a head of gilt copper and the body and tail formed of silk, fixed to a long staff and carried on an elephant." James Skinner, who recovered Mahādājī-Sendhia's *māhī-o-marātīb* in a fight with the Rajputs, speaks of it as "a brass fish with two chourees (horse-hair tails) hanging to it like moustachios" (Fraser, "Memoir," i, 152). Gentil, "Mémoires," 62, calls the *māhī* simply "the head of a fish on the end of a pole." As a sign of the rarity of this dignity, he adds that while in the Dakhin (1752-1761) he only saw four of them.

Sher-marātīb, or lion dignity.—This is a name only found, so far as I know, in Gentil, "Mémoires," 62; and he only saw it displayed by Šalābat Jang, nāẓim of the Dakhin. At the head of the dedication of the above work to the memory of Shujā'-ud-Daulah, are the figures of two elephants; one of which bears a standard that is most likely identical with this *Sher-marātīb*. The flag bears a lion embroidered on it, and the head of the staff is adorned with the figure of a lion.

'Alam.—The flags seem to have been triangular in shape, either scarlet or green in colour, having a figure embroidered in gold and a gold fringe. The staff was surmounted by a figure corresponding to the one embroidered on the flag. A plate in Gentil's "Mémoires" shows four of these embroidered emblems—1st, a *panjah*, or open hand; 2nd, a man's face with rays; 3rd, a lion (*sher*); and 4th, a fish. A flag, or *'alam*, could be granted to no man under the rank of 1000 *suwār*.

Āftābgiri.—This sun screen (*āftāb*, sun; *gir*, root of *giriṣṭan*, to take), shaped like an open palm-leaf fan, was also called *Sūraj-mukhī* (Hindī, literally, sun-face). By the Moghul rules it could only be granted to royal princes (*Mirāt-ul-Istilāḥ*, fol. 3). In the eighteenth century, however, the Mahrattas adopted it as one of their commonest ensigns, and even the smallest group of their cavalry was in the habit of carrying one.

Tūman-togh.—This is one of the two *togh* mentioned in Akbar's list, *Ā'in* i, 50, and figured on plate ix of that volume. Pavet de Courteille, "Dict.," 236, has *توغ* (*togh*), "étendard se composant d'une queue de قاتاس (*kaṭās*) ou bœuf de montagne (i.e. yak) fixée à une hampe, au dessus d'un pavillon triangulaire." This yak's-tail standard was not unfrequently granted to high officers of rank, by whom it was esteemed a high honour. The *togh* consisted generally of three tails attached to a cross-bar, which was fixed at the end of a long pole or staff.

Summary.—Thus, apart from titles or money rewards, or ordinary gifts, a man might be awarded any of the following honorary distinctions, of a more permanent character—(1) the right to carry a flag or simple standard, (2) the right to display a yak-tail standard, (3) the right to use kettle-drums and beat the *naubat*, (4) the right to display the fish and its accompanying emblems, (5) the right to use a litter adorned with gold fringes and strings of pearls. Of course, all these things were dependent on the caprice of the monarch; for in the Moghul, like in all Oriental states—*Ba yak nuktaḥ mahram* (محرم) *mujrim* (مجرم) *sharvad*: By one spot "confidant" becomes "criminal."

V. PROCEDURE ON ENTERING THE SERVICE.

Single men who resorted to the Court in the hope of obtaining employment in the army, were obliged first to seek a patron. A man generally attached himself to a chief from his own country or of his own race: Mughals became the

followers of Mughals, Persians of Persians, Afghāns of Afghāns, and so on. At times men of high rank who desired to increase their forces would remit large sums of money to the country with which they were specially connected, and thereby induce recruits of a particular class to flock to their standard. For instance, in the reign of Muḥammad Shāh (1719–1748), Muḥammad Khān, Bangash, filled his ranks in this way with men from the Bangash country and with Afrīdī Pathāns. According to a man's reputation or connections, or the number of his followers, would be the rank (*manṣab*) assigned to him. As a rule, his followers brought their own horses and other equipment; but sometimes a man with a little money would buy extra horses and mount relations or dependents upon them. When this was the case, the man riding his own horse was called, in later parlance, a *silāḥdār* (literally, equipment-holder), and one riding somebody else's horse was a *bārgīr* (burden-taker). The horses and equipment were as often as not procured by borrowed money; and not unfrequently the chief himself made the advances, which were afterwards recovered from the man's pay. The candidate for employment, having found a patron, next obtained through this man's influence an introduction to the *Bakhshī-ul-Mamālik* or *Mir Bakhshī*, in whose hands lay the presentation of new men to the emperor, and on his verdict a great deal depended as to the rank (*manṣab*) which might be accorded.

The Bakhshī. — This officer's title is translated into English sometimes by Paymaster-General, at others by Adjutant-General or Commander-in-Chief.¹ None of these titles gives an exact idea of his functions. He was not a Paymaster, except in the sense that he usually suggested the rank to which a man should be appointed or promoted, and perhaps countersigned the pay-bills. But the actual disbursement of pay belonged to other departments. Adjutant-General is somewhat nearer to correctness. Commander-in-Chief he was not. He might be sent on

¹ Blochmann, *Ā'in*, i, 261, has Paymaster and Adjutant-General.

a campaign in supreme command; and if neither emperor, vicegerent (*wakīl-i-mutlak*), nor chief minister (*wasīr*) was present, the command fell to him. But the only true Commander-in-Chief was the emperor himself, replaced in his absence by the *wakīl* or the *wazīr*. The word *Bakhshī* means 'the giver,' from *bakhshīdan*, P. 'to bestow,' that is, he was the giver of the gift of employment in camps and armies (*Dastūr-ul-Inshā*, 232). In Persia the same official was styled 'The Petitioner' (*āriz*). This name indicates that it was his special business to bring into the presence of the emperor anyone seeking for employment or promotion, and there to state the facts connected with that man's case. Probably the use of the words *Mīr* 'Arz in two places in the *Ā'in-i-Akbarī* (Blochmann, i, 257, 259) are instances of the Persian name being applied to the officer afterwards called a *Bakhshī*. The First *Bakhshī* (for there were four) seems to have received, almost as of right, the title of *Amīr-ul-Umarā* (Noble of Nobles); and from the reign of 'Ālamgīr onwards, I find no instance of this title being granted to more than one man at a time, though in Akbar's reign such appears to have been the case (*Ā'in*, i, 240, Blochmann's note).

Duties of the Bakhshī-ul-Mamālik.—These duties comprised the recruiting of the army; maintaining a list of *manṣabdārs* with their postings, showing (1) officers at Court, (2) officers in the provinces; keeping a roster of the guard-mounting at the palace; preparing the rules as to grants of pay (*tankhwāh*); keeping up a list of officers paid in cash, and an abstract of the total pay-bills; the superintendence of the mustering for branding and verifying the troopers' horses and the orders subsidiary thereto; the preparation of the register of absentees, with or without leave, deaths, and dismissals, of cash advances, of demands due from officers (*mutālībāh*), of sureties produced by officers, and the issue of written orders (*dastak*) to officers sent on duty into the provinces.¹

¹ *Dastūr-ul-Inshā*, 232, *Dastūr-ul-'Aml*, B.M. 6599, fol. 159a, and B.M. 1641, fols. 28, and 17b to 22a.

One special duty belonging to the *Bakhshī* was, in preparation for a great battle, to assign posts to the several commanders in the van, centre, wings, or rear-guard. The *Bakhshī* was also expected on the morning of a battle to lay before the emperor a present state or muster roll, giving the exact number of men under each commander in each division of the fighting line.

The other Bakhshīs.—Besides the First *Bakhshī*, ordinarily holding the title of *Amīr-ul-Umarā*, and styled either *Bakhshī-ul-Mamālik* (B. of the Realms) or *Mīr Bakhshī* (Lord B.), there were three other *Bakhshīs* at headquarters. It is a little difficult to fix upon the points which distinguished their duties from those of the First *Bakhshī*. The Second *Bakhshī*, usually styled *Bakhshī-ul-Mulk* (B. of the Kingdom), was also called the *Bakhshī-i-Tan*.¹ As *tan* (literally, body) was a contraction for *tankhīrāh*, pay (literally *tan*, body, *khīrāh*, desire, need), it might be supposed that his duties were connected with the records of *jāgīrs*, or revenue assignments granted in lieu of pay, just as in the revenue department the accounts of these grants were under a special officer, the *Dīwān-i-Tan*. But on examining such details of the Second *Bakhshī's* duties as are forthcoming, I find that this supposition does not hold good. On the whole, the duties of the First, Second, and Third *Bakhshīs* seem to have covered much the same ground. The main distinction, perhaps, was that the Second *Bakhshī* dealt more with the recruiting and promotion of the smaller men, while only those above a certain rank were brought forward by the *Mīr Bakhshī*. The Second *Bakhshī* was, it would appear, solely responsible for the bonds taken from officers, a practice common to all branches and ranks of the imperial service. His office would seem also to have been used to some extent as a checking office on that of the First *Bakhshī*, many documents

¹ Dānishmand Khān, 18th Shawwāl 1119, Khāfi Khān, ii, 601, Yahyā, Khān, fol. 114a.

requiring his seal in addition to that of the *Mir Bakḥshī*, and copies of many others being filed with him. The same remarks apply generally to the Third *Bakḥshī*, the greatest difference being perhaps that he took up only such recruiting work as was specially entrusted to him, and that whatever he did required to be counter-sealed by the First and Second *Bakḥshī*. His duties were on altogether a smaller scale than those of the other two.

From the details in one work, *Dastūr-ul-‘Ain*, B.M. 1641, fols. 28b, 29a, it might be inferred that the Second *Bakḥshī*'s duties were connected with the *Aḥādīs*, or gentlemen troopers serving singly in the emperor's own service. The difficulty, however, at once arises that the Fourth *Bakḥshī* had as his alternative title that of *Bakḥshī* of the *Aḥādīs*. The Third *Bakḥshī* was also called occasionally *Bakḥshī* of the *Wālā Shāhīs*, that is of the household troops, men raised and paid by the emperor out of his privy purse.¹

Provincial and other Bakḥshīs.—In addition to the *Bakḥshīs* at headquarters there were officers with similar functions attached to the governor of every province. With the office of provincial *Bakḥshī* was usually combined that of *Wāḳī‘ah-nigār*, or Writer of the Official Diary. And in imitation of the imperial establishments, each great noble had his own *Bakḥshī*, who performed for him the same functions as those executed for the emperor by the imperial *Bakḥshīs*.

First Appointment of an Officer.—On one of the appointed days, the *Bakḥshī* laid before His Majesty a written statement, prepared in the office beforehand and called a *Hakikat* (statement, account, narration, explanation). The man's services having been accepted, the emperor's order was written across this paper directing the man to appear, and a few days afterwards the candidate presented himself in the audience-hall and made his obeisance. When his turn came the candidate was brought

¹ *Kāmwār Khān*, entry of 1st Jannādī I, 1119.

forward, and the final order was passed. The following is a specimen of a *Hakikat*, with the orders upon it:—

Report

is made that So-and-so, son of So-and-so, in hope of serving in the Imperial Court, has arrived at the place of prostration attached to the Blessed Stirrup (*i.e.* the Court). In respect of him what are the orders ?

[First Order.] The noble, pure, and exalted order issued that the above-named be brought before the luminous eye (*i.e.* of His Majesty), and he will be exalted according to his circumstances.

[Second Order in two or three days' time.] To day the aforesaid passed before the noble sight ; he was selected for the rank (*manṣab*) of One Thousand, Two Hundred Horse (*suwār*).

The next step was the issue of a *Taşdik*, or Certificate, from the *Bakhshī*'s office, on which the *Bakhshī* wrote his order. It was in the following form :—

· Certifies

as follows, that So-and-so, son of So-and-so, on such-and-such a date, of such-and-such a year, in the hope of serving in this homage-receiving Court, arrived at the Blessed Stirrup and passed before the luminous sight. The order, to which the world is obsequious and the universe submissive, was issued that he be raised to the rank (*manṣab*) of One Thousand, Two Hundred Horse (*suwār*).

· One Thousand, *zāt*.

Two Hundred, *suwār*.

[Order thereon of the *Bakhshī*.] Let it be incorporated in the Record of Events (*Wāki'ah*).

On the arrival of the Certificate (*Taşdik*) in the office of the *Wāki'ahnigār*, or Diary Writer, he made an appropriate entry in his record and furnished an extract therefrom,

which bore the name of a *Yād-dāsht*, or Memorandum. In form it was as follows:—

Memorandum (*Yād-dāsht*).

On such-and-such a date, such-and-such a day of the week, such-and-such a month, such-and-such a year, in the department (*risālah*) of One endowed with Valour, a Shelter of the Courageous, the Object of various Imperial Condescensions, Submissive to the Equity of the world-governing favours, the *Bakhshī* of the Realms So-and-so, and during the term of duty as Event Writer of this lowliest of the slaves So-and-so, it was reduced to writing that So-and-so, son of So-and-so, having come to the place of prostration in the hope of service at the Imperial Court, on such-and-such a date passed before the pure and noble sight. The world-compelling, universe-constraining order obtained the honour of issue, that he be raised to and selected for the rank (*manṣab*) of One Thousand Personal (*zāt*) and Two Hundred Horsemen (*suwār*) in the chain (*silḳ*) of rank-holders (*manṣabdārān*). — On such-and-such a date, in accordance with the Certificate (*Taṣḍīq*), this Memorandum (*Yād-dāsht*) was penned.

One Thousand, *zāt*.

Two Hundred, *suwār*.

I. [Order of the Wazīr.]

After comparing it with the Diary (*Wāḳī'ah*), let it be sent to the Office of Revision (*'Arṣ-i-mukarrar*).

II. [Report of the Event Writer.]

Agrees with the diary (*Wāḳī'ah*).

III. [Order of the Superintendent of Revision, literally Renewed Petition (*'Arṣ-i-mukarrar*).]

On such-and-such a date, of such-and-such a month, of such-and-such a year, it was brought up for the second time.

In the later notices of the system we find few mentions of the paper called in the *Ā'in* (Blochmann, i, 258) the *ta'likah*, which was, it seems, an abridgment of the *Yād-dāsh*t. This paper the *ta'likah*, formed at that time the executive order issued to the officer concerned (*Ā'in*, i, 255). I have found *ta'likah* used once in this sense as late as 1127 H. (1716), by Sayyad 'Abd-ul-Jalīl, Bilgrāmī, in his letters sent from Dihli to his son ("Oriental Miscellany," Calcutta, 1798, p. 247).

The Aḥadīs.—Midway between the nobles or leaders (*manṣabdārs*) with the horsemen under them (*tāhīnān*) on the one hand, and the *Aḥshām*, or infantry, artillery, and artificers on the other, stood the *Aḥadī*, or gentleman trooper. The word is literally 'single' or 'alone' (*A. aḥad*, one). It is easy to see why this name was applied to them; they offered their services singly, they did not attach themselves to any chief, thus forming a class apart from the *tāhīnān*; but as they were horsemen, they stood equally apart from the specialized services included under the remaining head of *Aḥshām*. The title of *Aḥadī* was given, we are told (*Seir*, i, 262, note 201), to the men serving singly "because they have the emperor for their immediate colonel." We sometimes come across the name *Yakkah-tāz* (riding alone), which seems, when employed as the name of a class of troops, to mean the same body of men as the *Aḥadīs*. Horn, 20, 56, looks on the *Aḥadīs* as a sort of body-guard or *corps d'élite*; and in some ways that view may be taken as true, though there was not, as I think, any formal recognition of them as such. The basis of their organization under Akbar is set out in *Ā'in* 4 of Book ii (Blochmann, i, 249), and they are referred to in several other places (i, 20, 161, 231, 246, 536). In the strictest sense, the body-guard, or defenders of the imperial person, seem to have been the men known as the *Wālā Shāhī* (literally, of or belonging to the Exalted King), and, no doubt, these are the four thousand men referred to by Manucci ("Catrou," English ed. of 1826, p. 297) as 'the

emperor's slaves.'¹ Whether slaves or not, the *Wālā Shāhī* were the most trusted troops of the reigning sovereign. From various passages I find that they were chiefly, if not entirely, men who had been attached to his person from his youth and had served under him while he was still only a royal prince, and were thus marked out in a special manner as his personal adherents and household troops. The *Yasāwals* or armed palace guards were something like the *Wālā Shāhī* so far as they were charged with the safety of the sovereign; but they differed from the latter in not having the same personal connection with him. The *Aḥadīs* received somewhat higher pay than common troopers. In one instance we are told expressly what those rates were in later times. On the 2nd Šafar of his second year (1120 H.=22nd April, 1708), Bahādur Shāh, as Dānishmand Khān tells us, ordered the enlistment of 4,700 extra *Aḥadīs* at Rs. 40 a month, the money to be paid from the Exchequer.

Towards the end of the eighteenth century the household troops, we are told, *Seir*, i, 94, note 90, amounted to 40,000 men, all cavalry, but usually serving on foot in the citadel and in the palace. They consisted then of several corps besides the *Aḥadīs*, such as the *Surkh-posh* (wearers of red), the *Sultānī* (Royal), the *Wālā Shāhī* (High Imperial), the *Kamal-posh* (Blanket Weavers). Haji Mustapha is not, however, quite consistent with himself, for elsewhere (*Seir*, i, 262, note 201), when naming still another corps, the *A'lā Shāhī* (Exalted Imperial), he asserts that the *Surkh-posh* were all infantry, eight thousand in number. The curious title used above, *Kamal-posh*, comes from the Hindī word *kammāl*, a coarse blanket, having also the secondary meaning of a kind of cuirass (*Seir*, i, 143, note 105). The latter is no doubt the signification here.

¹ The word meant may be *Bandahkhāe*, or, perhaps preferably, the *Kūl*, the Chaghatāe for 'slave.'—P. de Courteille, 433.

VI. BRANDING AND VERIFICATION.

False musters were an evil from which the Moghul army suffered even in its most palmy days. Nobles would lend each other the men to make up their quota, or needy idlers from the bazaars would be mounted on the first baggage pony that came to hand and counted in with the others as efficient soldiers. Great efforts were made to cope with this evil, and in the earlier times with some success. In the later reigns, notably from the middle of Muḥammad Shāh's reign (1719-1748), all such precautions fell into abeyance, amid the general confusion and ever-deepening corruption.

Mustapha, the translator of the *Siyar-i-Mutākhharīn*, gives us an instance of the length to which this cheating was carried (*Seir*, i, 609, note). In Bengal, in the year 1163 H. (1750), when 'Alī Wirdī Khān, Mahābat Jang, was nāzim, an officer receiving pay for 1700 men could not muster more than seventy or eighty. Mustapha, who wrote in 1787-8, adds from his own experience—"Such are, without exception, all the armies and all the troops of India; and were we to rate by this rule those armies of 50,000 and 100,000 that fought or were slaughtered at the decisive battles of Palāsi [Plassy] and Baksar [Buxar] (and by some such rule they must be rated), we would have incredible deductions to make. Such a rule, however, would not answer for Mīr Kāsim's troops (1760-1764), where there was not one single false muster, nor would it answer for Haidar 'Alī's armies."

It was to put down these evil practices that the emperor Akbar revived and enforced more strictly than before a system of descriptive rolls of men and horses, the latter being branded with a hot iron before they were passed for service. This branding, with the consequent periodical musters for the purpose of comparison and verification, formed a separate department under the *Bakhshī* with its

own superintendent (*dāroghah*), and this was known as the *dāgh-o-taṣḥīḥah*, from *dāgh*, a brand, a mark, and *taṣḥīḥah*, verification. The usual phrase for enlisting was *asj ba dāgh rasānīdan*, "bringing a horse to be branded." Branding was first introduced by 'Alā-ud-dīn Khiljī in 712 H.=May, 1312–April, 1313, but on his death it was dropped (*Dastūr-ul-Inshā*, 233). The emperor Sher Shāh, Afghān, started it again in 948 H.=April, 1541–April, 1542. Akbar (*Ā'in*, i, 233) re-established the practice in the eighteenth year of his reign (about 981 H., 1573–4), and it was continued until the time when the whole system of government finally broke down in the middle of the eighteenth century. At first many difficulties were made (*Dastūr-ul-Inshā*, 234), and evasions were attempted, but at length the system was made effective. The great nobles, holding the rank of 5000 and upwards, were exempt from the operation of these rules; but when ordered, they were expected to parade their horsemen for inspection (*Dastūr-ul-ʿAmal*, B.M., No. 6599, fol. 144b). The technical name for these parades was *ماہالہ* *maḥallah* (Steingass, 1190), a word evidently connected with that used in Akbar's time for branding, viz. *dāgh-o-maḥallī* (*Ā'in*, i, 242; *Budāonī*, ii, 190).

As said before, the recruit was supposed, at any rate so far as the State was concerned, to furnish his own horse. Orme states the case thus:—"Every man brings his own horse and offers himself to be enlisted. The horse is carefully examined: and according to the size and value of the beast, the master receives his pay. A good horse will bring thirty or forty rupées a month. Sometimes an officer contracts for a whole troop. A horse in Indostan is of four times greater value than in Europe. If the horse is killed the man is ruined, a regulation that makes it the interest of the soldier to fight as little as possible."—"Historical Fragments," 4to edition, 418. Along with his horse the man

brought his own arms and armour, the production of certain items of which was obligatory. In actual practice, however, the leaders often provided the recruits with their horses and equipment. When this was the case the leader drew the pay and paid the man whatever he thought fit. Such a man, who rode another's horse, was called a *bāryār* (load-taker); while a man riding his own horse was in modern times called a *silāḥdār* (weapon-holder). The latter word is the origin of the Anglo-Indian phrase of "Sillidar cavalry," applied to men who are paid a lump sum monthly for themselves, horse, uniform, and equipment.

Descriptive Rolls.—When an officer entered the service (B.M. No. 6599, fol. 160a) a *Chihrah* or descriptive roll¹ of the new *manṣabdār* was first of all drawn up, showing his name, his father's name, his tribe or caste, his place of origin, followed by details of his personal appearance. His complexion might be "wheat-colour" (*gandum rang*), "milky," i.e. white (*shīr-fām*), "red" (*surkh-post*), or "auburn" (*maigun-rang*). His forehead was always "open" (*farāgh*); his eyebrows either full (*kushādah*) or in whole or in part *moshak* (?); his eyes were sheep-like (*mīsh*), deer-like (*āhū*), ginger-coloured (*adrak*), or cat's eyes (*gurbah*). His nose might be "prominent" (*buland*) or "flat" (*past*). He might be "beardless" (*amrad*) or "slightly bearded" (*rīsh o barwat āghūz*); his beard might be black (*rīsh o barwat siyāh*), or "slightly red" (*siyāh i maigun-numā*), "thin" (*khall* ?), *marash* (?), goat-shaped (*kosah-i-khurd*), or "twisted up" (*shaḳīkah*). So with any moles he might have; the shape of his ears, whether projecting or not,

¹ Literally 'face,' 'countenance.' It must not be confounded with *chīrah*, which means (1) a kind of turban, (2) a pay-roll, on which the recipients signed, (3) the pay itself. *Chīrah* is used in the second sense in *Ahwāl-ul-Khawākīn*, fol. 230b; and also by Ghulām Hasan, Samin, when telling us of the taunt addressed in 1170 H. (1757) by Aḥmad Khān, Bangash, to Najib Khān, Najib-ud-daulah, of having been once a private trooper in Farrukhabād, where his pay-rolls (*chīrah-hāe*) were still in existence.

whether the lobes were pierced or not, and whether he was pock-marked or not—all these things were noted.

Roll for Troopers.—The troopers (*tābīnān*) were also described, but not quite so elaborately. A specimen is as follows (B.M. No. 6599, fol. 163a):—

Troopers' Roll (*Chihrah-i-Tābīnān*).

Kamr 'Alī, son of Mīr 'Alī, son of Kabīr 'Alī, wheat complexion, broad forehead, separated eyebrows, sheep's eyes, prominent nose, beard and moustache black, right ear lost from a sword-cut. Total height, about 40 *shānah*.


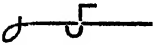

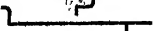





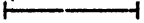


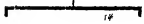

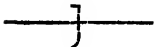
Horse.—Colour *kabūd* (iron-grey?). Mark on left of breast. Mark on thigh on mounting side. *Laskar* (?) on thigh on whip side. Brand of four-pointed stamp +

Descriptive Roll of Horses (*Chihrah-i-asṭān*).

The next thing done was to make out an elaborate description of the horse or horses (B.M. No. 6599, fol. 160b). There were twenty principal divisions according to colour, and eight of these were again subdivided, so that there were altogether fifty-eight divisions. Then there were fifty-two headings for the marks (*khāl-o-khat*) which might occur on the horse's body.

The Imperial Brand.

The hot iron was applied on the horse's thigh (*Seir*, i, 481, note 27). The signs used in Akbar's reign are given in the *Ā'in*, i, 139, 255, 256; but in the end he adopted a system of numerals. In 'Ālamgīr's reign and about that time there were twenty different brands (*tangḥah*), of which the shapes of fifteen have been preserved and are reproduced below (B.M. No. 6599, fol. 161a). I am not certain of the spelling, and in most instances I am utterly unable to suggest a meaning for the names.

NAME.	FORM OF BRAND.
1. <i>Chahār parhā</i> (four feather ?)	
2. <i>Chahār parhā jomar-khaj</i>	
3. <i>Chahār parhā dūr khaj</i>	
4. <i>Chahār parhā sihsar khaj</i>	
5. <i>Chakūsh</i>	
6. <i>Istād</i> (upright)	
7. <i>Uftādah</i> (recumbent)	
8. <i>Istādah o uftādah</i>	
9. <i>Yak ba do</i> (one with two)	
10. <i>Asarān</i>	
11. <i>Togh</i> (horse-tail standard)	
12. <i>Panjah-i-murgh</i> (hen's foot)	
13. <i>Mizān</i> (balance)	
14. <i>Do dārah taur</i>	
15. <i>Chahār bārah makar khaj</i>	

The Noble's Brand.

It is obvious that in addition to the imperial brand, a second mark was required by each noble for the recognition of the horses ridden by his own men. Accordingly we find direct evidence of this second marking in Bernier, 216, and again 243, when he speaks of the horses "which bear the omrah's mark on the thigh." Towards the end of the period the great nobles often had the first or last letter of their name as their special brand (*Seir*, i, 481, note 27), as, for instance, the

sīn-dāgh (س) of Sa'dat 'Alī Khān, nāẓim of Audh. Ghulām 'Alī Khān (B.M., Add. 24,028, fol. 63b) tells us that about 1153 H. (1740-41) Muḥammad Ishāk Khān used the last letter of his name, a *kāf* (ك), as his brand.

Classification of Horses.

According to the *Ā'in*, i, 233, there were seven classes of horses founded on their breed—(1) 'Arabi, (2) Persian, (3) *Mujannas*, resembling Persian, and mostly Turkī or Persian geldings, (4) *Turkī*, (5) *Yābū*, (6) *Tāzī*, (7) *Janglah*.

In 'Ālamgīr's reign we find (B.M. No. 6599, fol. 163a) the following classification: (1) 'Irākī, (2) *Mujannas*, (3) *Turkī*, (4) *Yābū*, (5) *Tāzī*, (6) *Janglī*. This is practically the same as Akbar's, except that Arab horses are not mentioned. This must be an oversight, since we learn from many passages in the contemporary historians that Arab horses were still in use. The *Tāzī* and *Janglī* were Indian horses, what we now call country-breds, the former being held of superior quality to the latter. The *Yābū* was, I suppose, what we call now the *Kābulī*, stout-built, slow, and of somewhat sluggish temperament. The *Turkī* was an animal from Bukhārā or the Oxus country; the 'Irākī came from Mesopotamia.

In 'Ālamgīr's reign the proportion in which officers of the different ranks were called on to present horses of these different breeds at the time of branding was as follows:—

RANK OF OFFICER.	CLASS OF HORSE.				TOTAL.
	'IRĀKĪ.	MUJANNAS.	TURKĪ.	YĀBŪ.	
400	3	1	1	0	5
300-350	2	1	1	0	4
100-150	0	0	3	0	3
80-90	0	0	2	0	2
50-70	0	0	1	1	2
40	0	0	1	0	1

These figures differ from those in the *Ā'in*, i, 248-9, where the number of horses is given for all *manṣabs*, up to the very highest.

According as the standard was exceeded or not come up to, the branding officer made an allowance or deduction by a fixed table. This calculation was styled *tafāwat-i-asṭān* (discrepancy of horses)—B.M. No. 6599, fol. 163a. The extra allowances were as follows:—

HORSE REQUIRED BY REGULATION.	HORSE PRODUCED.	ADDITIONAL ALLOWANCE.
		Rs.
<i>Turkī</i>	<i>Irākī</i>	12
<i>Turkī</i>	<i>Mujannas</i>	6
<i>Tāzī</i>	<i>Turkī</i>	8
<i>Yābū</i>	<i>Turkī</i>	9

When an inferior horse was produced the following deduction was made:—

HORSE REQUIRED BY REGULATION.	HORSE PRODUCED.	DEDUCTION.
		Rs.
<i>Turkī</i>	<i>Janglī</i>	12
<i>Yābū</i>	<i>Janglī</i>	10
<i>Tāzī</i>	<i>Janglī</i>	8

Subordinate Establishment.

An establishment of farriers, blacksmiths' forges, and surgeons had to be maintained by each *manṣabdār*, according to the following scale (B.M. No. 1641, fol. 38b):—

RANK OF OFFICER.	NUMBERS OF ESTABLISHMENT.		
	FARRIERS (<i>Na'iband</i>).	BLACKSMITHS' SHOPS (<i>Ahangar</i>).	LEECHES OR SURGEONS (<i>Jarāh</i>).
4000	8	2	2
3500	7	2	2
3000	6	2	2
2500	5	1	0
2000	4	1	2
1500	3	0	1
1000	2	0	1

Or, according to a more recent scale :—

1500-4000	6	3	0
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Verification (*Taṣṭihah*).

Something on this subject will be found in the *Ā'in*, i, 250, where the reference is confined to the *aḥadīs*; Dr. Horn, so far as he goes into the matter at all, deals with it on p. 49 of his work. In later times, at all events, the rule of mustering and verification seems to have been of almost universal application. For example, in a work called the *Guldastah-i-Bahar*, a collection of letters from Chhabīlah Rām, Nāgar, compiled in 1139 H. (1726-7), of which I possess a fragment, I find on fol. 18a an instance of the verification rules being enforced against a *manṣabdār* in the end of Bahādur Shāh's reign (1118-24 H.). Chhabīlah Rām, who was then *faujdar* of Karrah Mānikpur (ṣūbah Allāhābād), complains to his patron that the clerks had caused his *jāgīr*, in parganah Jājmau, bringing in ten lakhs of *dāms*, to be taken away from him, because he had not produced vouchers of *dāgh-o-taṣṭihah*. He sends the papers by a special messenger, and prays his correspondent, some influential man at Court, to obtain the restoration of the *jagīr* in question.

The intervals after which verification was imperative differed according to the nature of the man's pay. If he were paid in *jāgīr*, he had to muster his men for verification once a year, and, in addition, a period of six months' grace was allowed. If the officer were paid in *naḳd* (cash), the time allowed depended upon whether he was—(1) present at Court (*hāẓir-i-riḳāb*), or (2) on duty elsewhere (*ta'īnāt*). In the first case he had to procure his certificate at six-month intervals, or within eight months at the outside. In the second case he was allowed fifteen days after he had reported himself at Court. An *aḥadī* seems to have been allowed, in a similar case, no more than seven days. Where an officer drew his pay partly in *jāgīr* (assignment) and partly in *naḳd* (cash), if the former made more than half the total pay, the rule for *jāgīrdārs* was followed; if the *jāgīr* were less than half, the *naḳdī* rule was followed. (B.M. 1641, fols. 31a, 39b.)

When the interval and the period of grace had elapsed, the man was reported for *tawakkuf-i-taṣṣihah* (delay in verification). A *maṇṣabdār* lost the whole of his pay for the period since the last verification; or, if he were important enough to have been presented to the emperor (*rū-shinās*, known by sight), he might succeed in obtaining his personal pay. An *aḥadī* lost half his pay, and it was only by an order on a special report that he could be excused the penalty. The proportion of horsemen (*tābīnān*) that a *maṇṣabdār* must produce differed when he was at Court and when he was on duty in the provinces. In the first case he was bound to muster one-fourth, and in the second one-third, of his total number. There were three seasons appointed for verification, from the 26th Shawwāl to the 15th Zūl Ka'dh (twenty days), the 19th Ṣafar to the 15th Rabi' I (twenty-five days), and the 16th Jamādī II to the 15th Rajab (twenty-nine days). (B.M. 1641, fols. 31a, 39b, 58b; B.M. 6599, fol. 148a.)

VII. THE DIFFERENT BRANCHES OF THE SERVICE.

Although in writing this paper I think it better to retain the divisions of the original authorities, who distribute the army into *manṣabdārs* with their *tābinān*, *aḥādīs*, and *aḥshām*, it is quite true that, as Dr. Horn says, p. 11, the Moghul army consisted of cavalry, infantry, and artillery. But the second and third branches held a very subordinate position towards the first. The army was essentially an army of horsemen. The Moghuls from beyond the Oxus were accustomed to fight on horseback only; the foot-soldier they despised; and in artillery they never became very proficient. Until the middle of the eighteenth century, when the French and English had demonstrated the vast superiority of disciplined infantry, the Indian foot-soldier was little more than a night-watchman, and guardian over baggage, either in camp or on the line of march. Under the Moghuls, as Orme justly says ("Hist. Frag.," 4to, p. 418), the strain of all war rested upon the numbers and goodness of the horse which were found in an army.

There was no division into regiments. Single troopers, as we have already said, enlisted under the banner of some man a little richer or better known than themselves. These inferior leaders again joined greater commanders, and thus, by successive aggregations of groups, a great noble's division was gathered together. But from the highest to the lowest rank, the officer or soldier looked first to his immediate leader and followed his fortunes, studying his interests rather than those of the army as a whole.¹ It was not till quite the end of the period that, under the influence of European example, and also partly in imitation of the Persian invaders, it became usual for the great nobles to raise and equip at their own expense whole regiments without the intervention

¹ For remarks to the same general effect, see W. Erskine, "History," ii, 540.

of petty chiefs. In Audh, Şafdar Jang and Shujā'-ud-Daulah had such regiments, as, for instance, the *Kizilbāsh*, the *Sher-bachah*, and others, which were all clad alike, and apparently were mounted and equipped by the Nawāb himself.

When Akbar introduced the *manṣab* system, which ranked his officers according to the number of men supposed to be under the command of each, these figures had possibly some connection with the number of men present under those officers' orders, and actually serving in the army (Horn, 39). But it is tolerably certain that this connection between the two things did not endure very long: it was, I should say, quite at an end by the reign of Shāhjahān (1627-58). Indeed, if the totals of all the personal (*zāt*) *manṣabs* in existence at one time were added together, we should arrive at so huge an army that it would have been impossible for the country, however heavily taxed, to meet such an expense. If paid in cash, the army would have absorbed all the revenue; if paid by assignments, all the land revenue would have gone direct into the hands of the soldiery, leaving next to nothing to maintain the Court or meet the expenses of the other branches of the government. The inference I wish to draw is, that from the grant of rank it does not follow that the soldiers implied by such rank were really added to the army. The system required that a man's rank should be stated in terms of so many soldiers; but there is abundant testimony in the later historians that *manṣab* and the number of men in the ranks of the army had ceased to have any close correspondence.

Thus it seems to me a hopeless task to attempt, as Dr. Horn does, p. 39, following Blochmann (*Ā'in*, i, 244-7), to build up the total strength of the army from the figures giving the personal (*zāt*) rank of the officers (*manṣabdārs*). The difficulty would still exist, even if we had sufficiently reliable accounts of the number of such officers on the list at any one time. For we must remember that the number of men kept up by any officer was incessantly varying. On a campaign, or on

active employment in one of the provinces, either as its governor or in a subordinate position, an officer kept up a large force, generally as many as, if not more than, he could find pay for. On the other hand, while attached to the Court at Dihli, his chief or only duty might be to attend the emperor's public audience twice a day (a duty which was very sharply enforced), and take his turn in mounting guard at the palace. For duties of this sort a much smaller number of men would suffice. If we reckoned the number of men in the *sucār* rank, for whom allowances at so much per man were given by the State to the *manṣabdār*, we might obtain a safer estimate of the probable strength of the army. But for this also materials fail, and in spite of musterings and brandings, we may safely assume that very few *manṣabdārs* kept up at full strength even the quota of horsemen (*tābīnān*) for which they received separate pay. In these matters the difference between one noble and another was very great. While one man maintained his troops at their full number, all efficiently mounted and equipped, another would evade the duty altogether. As, for instance, one writer, *Khūshāl Chand*, in his *Nādir-uz-zamānī* (B.M. Or. 1844, fol. 140a) says: Luṭfullah *Khān Šādīq*, although he held the rank of 7,000, "never entertained even seven asses, much less horses or riders on horses." In Muḥammad Shāh's reign he lived quietly at home at Pānīpat, 30 or 40 miles from Dihli, his attention engrossed by his efforts to get hold of all the land for many miles round that town, and passing his days, in spite of his great nominal rank, like a mere villager.

It seems to me equally hopeless to attempt a reconstruction of the force actually present at any particular battle by adding together the numerical rank held by the commanders who were at that battle. This Dr. Horn has tried to do on p. 67, without feeling satisfied with the results. But, as far as I can see, there was little, if any, connection between the two matters. The truth is that, like all things in Oriental countries, there existed no rules which were

not broken in or *koft* w^a A man of high rank would, no doubt, be helmets and the command of a division. But it was quest, and argument whether that division had more or fewer men in it than the number in his nominal rank. The strength of a division depended upon the total number of men available, and the extent of the contingents brought into the field by such subordinate leaders as might be put under the orders of its commander. It was altogether a matter of accident whether the number of men present responded or not to the rank of the commanders.

Bernier, 43, has an excellent remark on the vague way that numbers were dealt with by historians: "Camp-followers and hazar-dealers . . . I suspect, are often included in the number of combatants." Again, on p. 380, he seems to come to the conclusion that it would be a fair estimate to take the fighting men at about one-third of the total numbers in a Moghul camp. I have seen somewhere (I have lost the reference, but I think it was in *Khāfi Khān*) an admission that the gross number of a so-called "*fauj*" (army) was always reckoned as including no more than one-third or one-fourth that number of fighting men. I give below, for what they are worth, a tabular summary of Dr. Horn's figures (pp. 39-45)—

ESTIMATED NUMBERS OF MOGHUL ARMY.

PERIOD.	CAVALRY.	MATCHLOCKMEN AND INFANTRY.	ARTILLERY- MEN.	AUTHORITY.
Akbar	12,000	12,000	1000	Blochmann, i, 246.
Do.	384,758	3,877,557	—	<i>Ā'in-i-Akbari</i> . ¹
Shāhjahān	200,000	40,000	—	<i>Badshāhnāmāh</i> , ii, 715; <i>Ā'in</i> , i, 244.
Aurangzeb	240,000	15,000	—	Bernier.
Do.	300,000	600,000	—	Catrou.
Mhd. Shāh	200,000	800,000	—	<i>Tārīkh-i-Hindī</i> of Rustam 'Alī.

include all the militia levies and zamindār's retainers throughout the country, besides the army proper.

provinces,
 NUMBERS PRESENT ON PARTITION, and on DISPOSITIONS.
 if not more, while at the same time.

NAME OF BATTLE OR COMMANDER.	NUMBER OF IMPERIALISTS.				NUMBER OF IMPERIALISTS.				AUTHORITY.
	Cavalry.	Infantry.	Artillery.	Elephants.	Cavalry.	Infantry.	Artillery.	Elephants.	
Sarkhej	10,000	—	—	100	40,000	100,000	—	—	<i>Akbarnāmah</i> , iii, 424.
Under Khān	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
'Azim	10,000	—	—	—	30,000	—	—	—	<i>Id.</i> iii, 593.
Under Khān	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	<i>Id.</i> iii, 608.
Khānān ...	1200	—	—	—	5000	—	—	—	<i>Id.</i> iii, 714.
Šādik Khān...	3000	—	—	—	8000	—	—	—	<i>Id.</i> iii, 714.
Kandahār	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	80	<i>Id.</i> iii, 714.
(1061 H.)...	50,000	10,000	—	10	—	—	—	—	Elliot, vii, 99.
Jahāngir	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	<i>Id.</i> vi, 318.
(1016 H.)...	12,500	2000	—	60	—	—	—	—	<i>Id.</i> vi, 318.
Ahmad Abdālī	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	<i>Id.</i> vi, 318.
(1174 H.)...	60,000	20,000	—	—	—	—	—	—	<i>Id.</i> vi, 318.

VIII. EQUIPMENT—(A) DEFENSIVE ARMOUR.

The generic name for arms and armour was *silah*, plural *aslah* (Steingass, 693). Weapons and armour of all kinds were much prized in India, much taste and ingenuity being expended on their adornment. Every great man possessed a choice collection. The following extract describes that of the Nawāb Wazīr at Lakhnau, in 1785:—"But beyond everything curious and excellent in the Nawāb's possession are his arms and armour. The former consist of matchlocks, fuzees, rifles, fowling-pieces, sabres, pistols, scymitars, spears, syefs (long straight swords), daggers, poniards, battle-axes, and clubs, most of them fabricated in Indostan, of the purest steel, damasked or highly polished, and ornamented in relief or intaglio with a variety of figures or foliage of the most delicate pattern. Many of the figures are wrought in gold and silver, or in marquetry, with small gems. The hilts of the swords, &c., are agate, chrysolite, lapis-lazuli, chalcedony, blood-stone, and enamel, or steel inlaid with gold,

called *tynashee* or *koft* work. The armour is of two kinds, either of helmets and plates of steel to secure the head, back, breast, and arms, or of steel network, put on like a shirt, to which is attached a netted hood of the same metal to protect the head, neck, and face. Under the network are worn linen garments quilted thick enough to resist a sword. On the crown of the helmet are stars or other small device, with a sheath to receive a plume of feathers. The steel plates are handsomely decorated with gold wreaths and borders, and the network fancifully braided." ("Asiatic Miscellany," i, 393.) Calcutta, 1795. 4to.)

The fines for not producing at inspection a man's own armour and that of his elephant (*pākhar*) were as follows (B.M. 6,599, fol. 162a):—

RANK OF OFFICER.	AMOUNT OF FINE FOR NON-PRODUCTION OF				
	Headpiece (<i>Khūd</i>).	Body Armour (<i>Baktar</i>).	Elephant Armour (<i>Pākhar</i>).	Greaves (<i>Rānak</i>).	Harhai (?).
	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.
400	2 0 0	5 0 0	4 0 0	2 0 0	1 0 0
350	2 0 0	4 0 0	3 12 0	1 12 0	0 15 0
300	1 12 0	4 0 0	3 8 0	1 8 0	0 14 0
250	1 8 0	3 8 0	3 4 0	1 4 0	0 13 0
200	1 0 0	3 0 0	3 0 0	1 0 0	0 12 0

Armour was worn by all horsemen who could afford it; nay, officers of a certain rank were required to produce it at the time of inspection, subject to a fine if it were not forthcoming. Its use was never discontinued; it was even worn by men of European descent when they entered the native service. For instance, James Skinner, writing of the year 1797, says, "as I was exercising my horse in full armour" (Fraser, "Memoirs," i, 125); and again, "I was only saved by my armour" (*ibid.* 127). George Thomas, the

Read *sari-aspi* in B.M. 1641, fol. 37a, but to neither reading can I assign meaning.

Irish adventurer, also wore armour (*id.* 229). Nor is the use of armour entirely discontinued even to this day, as those can testify who saw the troops of the Bundelkhand States paraded before the Prince of Wales at Agra in January, 1876.

The armour was worn as follows (W. Egerton, 112, note to No. 440):—Depending from the cuirass was generally a skirt, which was at times of velvet embroidered with gold. Underneath the body armour was worn a *ḡabchah*,¹ or jacket quilted and slightly ornamented. Silken trousers and a pair of kashmīr shawls round the waist completed the costume of a nobleman of high rank. As to these quilted coats, we are told elsewhere (*Seir*, i, 624, note) that “common soldiers wore an ample upper garment, quilted thick with cotton, coming down as far as the knee. These coats would deaden the stroke of a sabre, stop the point of an arrow, and above all kept the body cool by intercepting the rays of the sun.” Or as a still later writer tells us (Fitzclarence, “Journal,” 143)²:—“The irregular cavalry throughout India are mostly dressed in quilted cotton jackets; though the best of these habiliments are not, as I supposed, stuffed with cotton, but are a number of cotton cloths quilted together. This serves as a defensive armour, and when their heads are swathed round, and under the chin, with linen to the thickness of several folds, it is almost hopeless with the sword to make an impression upon them. They also at times stuff their jackets with the refuse silk of the cocoons, which they say will even turn a ball.” This habit of swathing the body in protective armour till little beyond a man’s eyes could be seen, gives the point to the scoffing remark of Dāūd Khān, Pannī, at

¹ Apparently the diminutive of *ḡabā*, a close long gown or shirt (Steingass, 970).

² Lieut.-Col. Fitzclarence was, I believe, created Earl of Munster in 1831, and if so, he is the Lord Munster referred to by Dr. Horn on p. 8 as the author of a series of questions on Mahomedan military usages. His “Journal,” the work of a close observer and graphic writer, proves that he was quite competent to write for himself, and not merely “schreiben zu lassen,” the history that he had planned.

the battle against Husain 'Alī Khān, fought on the 8th Sha'bān, 1127 H. (6th Sept., 1715), that his assailant, one Mir Mushrif, "came out to meet him like a bride or a woman, with his face hidden" (Ghulām 'Alī Khān, *Muḥaddamah-i-Shāh 'Ālam-nāmah*, fol. 22b).

I now proceed to describe each part of the armour, *seriatim*, beginning with the helmet.

Khūd, *Dabalghah*, or *Top*.—This was a steel headpiece with a vizor or 'nose-guard'. There are several specimens in the Indian Museum; and in W. Egerton, "Handbook," several of these are figured, Nos. 703 and 704 on plate xiii, No. 703 on p. 134, and another, No. 591, on p. 125. *Khūd* is the more usual name, but *dabalghah* is the word used in the *Ā'in* (Blochmann, I, iii, No. 52, and plate xiii, No. 43). The latter is Chaghātāe for a helmet; and Pavet de Courteille gives four forms, دبولغه, داوولغا, داوولغان, دبولغه (p. 317), and دلولغه (p. 322). I have only met with it once in an eighteenth-century writer (*Ahwāl-ul-Khawākīn*, c. 1147 H., fol. 161b), and then under the form of دبولغه, *dobalghah*. *Top*, for a helmet, appears several times in Egerton; for instance, on p. 119 and p. 125. This is apparently an Indian word (Shakes., 73), توب, which must be distinguished from the word *top*, توپ, a cannon, to which a Turkish origin is assigned. A helmet seems to have been called a *top* by the Mahrattas and in Maisūr; but the word is not used by writers in Northern India. If we disregard the difference between ت and ت, then we can derive *top*, 'a helmet,' and *topi*, 'a hat,' as does the compiler of the "Madras Manual of Administration," iii, 915, from the ordinary Hindī word *topnā*, 'to cover up.' But I hardly think this is legitimate.

Khoghī.—The next name to the *dabalghah* on the *Ā'in* list, the *khoghī*, No. 53, must be something worn on the head; but there is no figure of it, and I fail to identify the word in that form. From the spelling it is evidently of Hindī origin; and a note in the Persian text has *ghokhī* as an alternative reading. Has it anything to do with *ghoghī*, a pocket, a pouch, a wallet (Shakespear, 1756), or

ghūnghī, cloths folded and put on the head as a defence against the rain (Shakes., 1758)? The latter may point to a solution: the *khoghī*, or, better, the *ghūghī*, may have been folds of cloth adjusted on the head to protect it from a sword blow.

Mighfar is defined (Steingass, 1281) as mail, or a network of steel worn under the cap or hat, or worn in battle as a protection for the face, also a helmet. It is evidently the long piece of mail hanging down from the helmet over the neck and back, as shown in No. 45, plate xii, of the *Ā'in*, vol. i, and called there and on p. 111, No. 54, the *zirīhkulāh* (cap of mail). It was through the *mighfar* that, according to Ghulām 'Alī Khān's history, the arrow passed which wounded 'Abdullah Khān, Kuṭb-ul-Mulk, just before he was taken a prisoner at the battle of Hasanpur (13th Nov., 1720), and the following verse brings in the word, as also the *joshan* :—

Chah yāre kunad mighfar o joshan-am,
Chūn Bārī na kard akhtar roshan-am.

“What aid to me is vizor and coat of mail,

“When God has not made my star to shine.”¹

Baktar or *Bagtar*.—This is the name for body armour in general, whether it were of the cuirass (*chahār-ā'īnah*) or chain-mail (*zirīh*) description. Steingass, 195, defines it as a cuirass, a coat of mail. See also the *Dastūr-ul-Iushā*, 228. The *bagtar* is No. 58 in the *Ā'in* list (i, 112), and is shown as No. 47 on plate xii. From the figure it may be inferred that, in a more specific sense, *baktar* was the name for fish-scale armour. *Bargustuncān*, as Mr. H. Beveridge has pointed out to me, is a general name for armour used in the *Tabakāt-i-Nāsirī*, text 119

¹ *Mukaddamah-i-Shāh 'Ālam-nūmah* by Ghulām 'Alī Khān, B.M. Add. 24,028, fol. 40a. The last line probably contains an allusion to Roshan Akhtar, the original name of Muḥammad Shāh, to whom 'Abdullah Khān succumbed.

(Raverty, 466 and note); but that work belongs to a period long before the accession of the Moghuls. Steingass, 178, restricts *bargustuwān* to horse armour worn in battle: the *Aḥwāl-i-Khawākīn*, fol. 218b, applies it to the armour worn by elephants, and I have found it in no other late writer.

Chahār-āīnah.—This is literally 'four mirrors': it consisted of four pieces, a breast plate and a back plate, with two smaller pieces for the sides. All four were connected together with leather straps. Steingass, 403, has 'a kind of armour.' It is No. 50 in the *Āīn*, i, 112, and figure No. 49 on plate xiii. It is also shown in Egerton, plate ix, and again on p. 144. The specimens in the Indian Museum are No. 364 (p. 103), 450, 452 (p. 112), 569, 570 (p. 119), 587 (p. 124), 707 (p. 135), 764 (p. 144).

Zirih.—This was a coat of mail with mail sleeves, composed of steel links (*Dastūr-ul-Inshā*, 228). The coat reached to the knees (W. Egerton, 125, note to No. 591). It is No. 57 in the *Āīn*, i, 112, and No. 46 on plate xiii of that volume. There are six examples in the Indian Museum—W.E. 361, 362 (p. 103), 453 (p. 112), 591, 591 T (p. 125), 706 (p. 135). Apparently, judging from the plate in the *Āīn*, the *baktar* (fish scales) or the *chahār āīnah* (cuirass) was worn *over* the *zirih*. W. H. Tone, "Maratta People," 61, note, gives a word *beuta* as the Mahratta name for the chain-mail shirt that they wore. I cannot identify or trace this word.

Jaibah.—Blochmann, *Āīn*, i, 111, No. 56, and his note 4, says it was a general name for armour. He gives no figure of it. Erskine, "History," ii, 187, has *jaba*. Steingass, 356, says it is from the Arabic *jubbāt*, and spells it *jubah*, a coat of mail, a cuirass, any kind of iron armour. The word is used in the '*Ālamgīrnāmah*, 245, l. 7:—"tan ba zeb-i-jabah o joshan pairāstah"—"body adorned with the decoration of *jabah* and *joshan*." It is also used in *Aḥwāl-ul-Khawākīn* (c. 1147 H.), fol. 164a, in the form *jaibah*.

Other items of body armour (*Dastūr-ul-Inshā*, 228) were the *joshan*, the *jihlām*, the *angarkhah*, the *daghlah*. In other authorities we also meet with the *ṣādīkī*, the *koḥī*, the *bhanjū*, and the *salhḳāba*. Of the last, the *salhḳāba*, *Ā'in*, No. 66, we have no figure, and I am unable to identify it, as I have never seen the word elsewhere. Other words which have defied identification are *harhai*, as I read it (B.M. 6599, fol. 162a; B.M. 1641, fol. 37a), and three articles in the *Dastūr-ul-Inshā*, p. 228, which I read *sūbī*, *malk*, and *masarī*. We have also the *kamal*, the *ghughawah*, the *kantḥā-sobhā*. Finally, there were the *dastrānah* or arm-pieces, the *rānak* or greaves, and the *mozah-i-āhanī*, a smaller pattern of leg-piece.

Joshan.—This is No. 59 of the *Ā'in* list, p. 112, and is figured as No. 48 on plate xiii. It appears to be a steel breastplate extending to the region of the stomach and bowels. Blochmann, p. xi, calls it an armour for chest and body; Steingass translates more vaguely 'a coat of mail.'

Jihlām.—According to the dictionary (Shakes., 825), this is the Hindī for armour, coat of mail, vizor of helmet; but I do not know what was its special nature or form. Steingass, 405, has *chahlam*, a sort of armour; also *chihal-tah*, a coat of mail. Kām Rāj, 58b, has a passage—"Mir Mushrif came quickly and lifted his *jihlām* from his face." This makes the word equivalent to vizor. It is not in the *Ā'in*.

Angarkhah.—Hindī for a coat, possibly identical with that sometimes called an *alkhālīk* (a tight-fitting coat). Probably this coat was wadded so as to turn a sword-cut. It is No. 63 of the *Ā'in*, i, 112, and figure No. 52 of plate xiv, where we see it a long, loose, wide coat worn over the armour.

Daghlah or *Daglā*.—The second of these is the Hindī form of the word. It was a coat of quilted cloth.

Chihilkad.—This is No. 67 of the *Ā'in*, 112, and is shown as figure No. 54 on plate xiv. Muḥammad Kāsim, *Aḥwāl*-

ul-*Khawākīn*, 161b, spells it *چلکت*, *chalkat*. It was a doublet worn over the armour, and possibly identical with the *chiltā*, literally forty-folds (Shakespeare, 884; Steingass, 398).

Sūlikī.—*Ā'in*, 112, No. 62, and No. 51 on plate xiv, a coat of mail something like the *joshan* in shape, but with epaulettes.

Koṭhī.—We have this in the *Ā'in*, 112, No. 61, and it appears on plate xiv, No. 50, as a long coat of mail worn under the breastplate and opening down the front.

Bhanjū.—This is No. 64 of the *Ā'in* list, i, 112, but I have never seen the word anywhere else; it must be a Hindī word, but it is not in Shakespeare's Dictionary. The only figure is the one reproduced from Langlès by Egerton, No. 9 on plate i, opposite p. 23. This might be almost anything; the nearest resemblance I can suggest is that of a sleeveless jacket.

Kamal.—This word is literally 'a blanket,' and from it the corps known as the *kamal-posh* (blanket-wearers) derived its name. The word seems to have had the secondary meaning of a cuirass or wadded coat, possibly made of blanketing on the outside. There were wadded coats of quilted cotton, as well as of wool, which would stand the stroke of a sabre. Some stuffed with silk refuse were considered capable of withstanding a bullet (*Seir*, i, 143, note 105). This sort of protection was very common. "Almost every soldier in the service of a native power has his head secured by many folds of cotton cloth, which not only pass round but likewise over it and under the chin; and a protection for the back of the neck is provided of similar materials. The jacket is composed of cotton thickly quilted between cloths, and so substantial as almost to retain the shape of the body like stiff armour. To penetrate this covering with the edge of the sword was to be done only by the practice of cutting." (Valentine Blacker, "War," 302.)

Ghūghwah.—This must, from its position in the *Ā'in* list, No. 55, be some kind of armour, but I cannot identify the word, which is of Hindī form. In plate xiii, No. 44,

the *thing* is shown as a long coat and cowl of mail, all in one piece. In Egerton's plate (No. i, figure 4) it is something quite different, of a shape which it is difficult to describe, and for which it is still more difficult to suggest a use. The word seems to have some affinity to *khoghī* or *ghughī* (see *ante*). It represents the Eastern Hindī form of *ghoghā*, following the usual rule of vowel modification, thus: H. H., *ghorā*; E. H., *ghurwā* 'a horse.' There being also a slight indication of the diminutive in this form, *ghughwā* would be a small *ghoghā*. There is a chain epaulette shown in one of the plates in Röckstuhl and Gille, which suggests the shape of the *ghughwā* figured by Egerton, and possibly that was its purpose.

Kanthā-sobhā.—This is No. 70 in the list in the *Āḥn*, 112, and, as we can see from figure 7 on plate i of W. Egerton's catalogue, it was a neck-piece or gorget. No. 69 (*rānak*) and No. 71 (*mozah-i-āhanā*) are both worn by the man and not the horse; then why does Blochmann, in his note, suggest that No. 70 (*kanthā-sobhā*) was attached to the horse's neck? The derivation is from *kanthā* (Shakes., 1616) a necklace, and *sobhā*, *id.* 1338, ornament, dress, decoration.

Dastcānah.—This was a gauntlet, or mailed glove, with steel arm-piece. It is No. 68 of the *Āḥn*, 112, and is shown as No. 55 on plate xiv. The specimens in the Indian Museum are Nos. 452, 453, 454, 455 (Egerton, p. 112), 568, 570 (*id.* 119), 587, 590 (*id.* 124), 745 (*id.* 139). Three of these are shown, two on plate xii, opposite p. 122, and one on plate xiv, opposite p. 136.

Rānak.—In the *Āḥn* list, 112, No. 69, appears the word *rāk* or *rāg*, which is quite unmeaning. When we turn to No. 56 on Blochmann's plate xiv, we see that the thing itself is an iron leg-piece or greave. Now, wherever there are lists of armour in the MS. *Dastūr-ul-'Anāl*, I find a word راک, which is invariably shown with a fourth letter of some sort; it might be read *rātak*, *rālak*, *rānak*, but never *rāk*. As *rān* means in Persian the 'thigh,' I propose to substitute for Blochmann's *rāk* the reading *rānak*,

the diminutive ending being used to denote relation or connection, a formation like *dastak* (little hand), a short written order, fit to be (as it were) carried in the hand. The word *rānak* is not in Steingass.

Mozah-i-āhanī.—This "iron-stocking" is No. 71 on page 112 of the *Ā'in*, and No. 56 on plate xiv. It is a smaller form of the *rānak*.

Patkah.—I find in Ghulām 'Alī Khān, *Mukaddamah*, fol. 38b, an epithet پتکه پوشان, *patkah-poshān*, applied to both Sayyads and horse-breakers (*chābuk-suwarān*). It appears to refer to some part of military equipment, but what it is I do not know. It is evidently used in a depreciatory sense.

Having enumerated the man's defensive armour, we go on to that of the horse. The elephant armour I will leave till we come to the special heading devoted to those animals.

Kajīm.—This is in *Ā'in*, 112, No. 72 (*kajem*), and is shown as figure No. 57 on plate xiv. Erskine, "History," ii, 187, has the form *kīchīm*. It was a piece of armour for the hind-quarters of a horse, and was put on over a quilted cloth called *artak-i-kajīm* (*Ā'in*, 112, No. 73).

The other pieces of armour for the horse were the frontlet (*kashkāk*: *Ā'in*, 112, No. 74, and plate xiv, No. 60) and the neck-piece (*gardani*: *Ā'in*, 112, No. 75). Blochmann's description of the latter (p. 112, note 3) does not seem very appropriate, as he makes it a thing which hangs down in front of the horse's chest. *Gardani*, however, is the name still applied to the head and neck-piece, the hood, of a set of horse-clothing. It is the neck-shaped piece in figure No. 58 of Blochmann's plate xiv, and is separately shown in Egerton's plate i, figure No. 3. *Kashkāk* is the word used in Persian for the Hindu sect-mark or *tilak*, applied on the centre of the forehead. R. B. Shaw, J.A.S. Bengal for 1878, p. 144, gives it as the Eastern Turkī for an animal's forehead.

Horse trappings were often most richly adorned with silver or gold, embroidery or jewels. When so enriched they were styled *sāz-i-tilāe*, or *sāz-i-maraṣṣa*. The names

of the various articles are as follows (W. Egerton, 125):
pallāh (headstall) and *inān* (reins), *zerband* (martingale),
dumchī (crupper), *khogir* (saddle), *ustak* (shabracque),
bālātang (surcingle), *rikāb* (stirrups), *shikārbañū* (ornamental
tassels at corners of saddle). The list of stable requisites
can be seen in *Āīn*, i, 136.

CORRESPONDENCE.

1. THE TĀJ OR RED CAP OF THE SHĪ'ĀHS.

Dresden,
April 21, 1896.

DEAR SIR,—Two days ago, while translating a Persian MS. entitled “*Basātīn-us-Salūṭīn*”—a history of the ‘Ādil Shāhī kings of Bijāpur—I met the following passage, which occurs in the account of the reign of Isma‘īl ‘Ādil Shāh, the second king of the dynasty:—

“He ordered all the soldiers in his army to wear on their heads the red *tāj* [cap] of twelve notches [*tarak*]; and whoever did not wear the *tāj* was not allowed to come to the *salām* [levée]. Moreover, in that reign it was impossible for anyone to go to and fro in the city without the *tāj*. If anyone chanced to be seen without a *tāj* he was punished by the King. This custom continued to the end of the reign of Isma‘īl Shāh.”

It was a curious coincidence that the very day after translating this passage I received my copy of the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society for April, and in Dr. Denison Ross’ paper on “The Early Years of Shāh Isma‘īl,” I read on pp. 254–5 what appears to be the traditional account of the origin of the red caps mentioned above.

I have in my possession a small history of the ‘Ādil Shāhī dynasty, entitled “*Guldastah-i-Bijāpur*,” which gives a likeness of each of the kings, and Isma‘īl ‘Ādil Shāh is represented wearing a head-dress corresponding to the description of the *tāj*.

Isma'il—like his father, Yusuf 'Ādil Shāh—was a Shī'ah ; but his father was a tolerant one, and Isma'il extremely bigoted. The prime minister, Kamāl Khān, was a Sunnī, and whilst he held the reins of government during the minority of Isma'il, he restored the Sunnī faith ; but when Isma'il, after the assassination of Kamāl Khān, assumed the government himself, one of his first acts was to re-introduce the Shī'ah religion ; and it was in connection with this that he ordered the wearing of the red *tāj* of twelve points, doubtless symbolical of the twelve Imāms. Shāh Isma'il Ṣafavī and Isma'il 'Ādil Shāh were contemporaries, and the former sent an embassy to the Court of the latter.—Yours faithfully,

J. S. KING (Major).

To the Secretary of the Royal Asiatic Society.



2. PARSEE PUNCHAYET.

131, Hornby Road, Bombay,

March 6, 1896.

To the President of the Royal Asiatic Society, London.

SIR,—I am directed by the Trustees of the Parsee Punchayet to request you to be good enough to bring the following matter to the notice of your Oriental scholars travelling through and taking interest in Central Asia.

You know that the regions of Central Asia were once either inhabited by the ancient Zoroastrians, or were under their direct or indirect influence. So the Parsees, or the modern Zoroastrians, being the descendants of those ancient Zoroastrians, take an interest in these regions. They would welcome any information obtained in these regions that would throw some light on their ancient literature and on the manners, customs, and history of their ancient fatherland of Iran. If your scholars and travellers will put themselves in literary communication in English with us, their contribution on these subjects will be very gratefully received. The Trustees will be glad to patronize any publication in English treating of the researches in these

regions from an Iranian point of view.—I have the honour to be, sir, your most obedient servant,

JIVANJI JAMSHEDJI MODI,
Secretary, Parsee Punchayet.

3. KURANDA.

102, *Cheyne Walk, Chelsea,*
London, S.W.

SIR,—Your correspondent Mr. St. Andrew St. John may be interested in knowing that *Barleria prionitis* is still, in Maratha, "*Kanta-koranta*," and "*Pivala-* (yellow) *koranta*." It is of a rich cream-colour. Mr. Nairne, the latest writer on the subject, says "buff." There are many others of the genus, blue, lilac, pink, and white. None are at all like the English "blue-bell" (wild hyacinth), or the "Blue Bells of Scotland" (*Anglicé* "harebells"). These belong to other orders, and are not familiar to natives of the plains of India. It is, therefore, perhaps to be regretted that the word "blue-bell" should be used in translation of the Indian name of a tropical plant, even if its flower were blue.—I remain, yours truly,

W. F. SINCLAIR.

Rugby,
April 18, 1896.

SIR,—In the passage quoted by Mr. St. John from my translation of the *Jātaka*, vol. ii, p. 46, in the number of the *Journal* for April, 1896, p. 364, "yellow robe" stands in inverted commas. If the robe were yellow in truth, the point is lost. The man in question violated all the rules of taste by wearing a white outer robe, a *blue under robe*, holding a carved fan, etc., etc.; and the sentence was intended to mean—"he wore a blue robe instead of the proper yellow robe." Would not an Englishman be understood if he were to say of some clergyman, "his 'white tie' on this occasion was bright blue"?—Yours truly,

W. H. D. ROUSE.

4. CHŪHĀ SHĀH DAULA.

In the Panjāb certain dwarfs are seen called "Chūhā Shāh Daula," Rats of the shrine of Shāh Daula, a Muhammadan Saint.

In 1851 I saw two of these dwarfs exhibited at Paris, riding on ostriches, and described as a peculiar race of pigmies. I asked our new member, Muhammad Latif, to send an account of them for our Journal, with the following result.

Rev. R. N. CUST,
Hon. Sec. of R.A.S.

63, Elm Park Gardens, S.W.
May 20, 1896.

Jallandhar City, Panjāb,
April 27, 1896.

SIR,—I have made inquiries regarding the people known in the Panjāb as "Chūhā Shāh Daula" found in Gujrat District and elsewhere in the Panjāb. The hereditary custodians of the shrine of Shāh Daula, in the city of Gujrat, maintain, that parents not endowed with a child make a vow at the Chawngāl, or mausoleum of the Saint, that, should they be gifted with a child, male or female, they would make an offer of him or her at the shrine of the Saint. Through the blessings of the Saint a child is born to the parents, and in fulfilment of the vow they offer the child at the shrine. The child's head is invariably small, and so the epithet *Chūhā* or "Mouse" is given to it. The story, however, is wrong. In the first place, why should parents ask the gift of a child whose head is so small that the child, when grown up to manhood, becomes an idiot and is devoid of all senses? A child so born is quite useless to the parents and to the world at large. Secondly, the story as to the blessings of the Saint is absurd, since the gift of a child in such condition is rather a curse to the parents than a blessing.

The truth of the matter is, that *Chūhā*—males or females—born with small heads, are extraordinary creatures, and

